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SCHOOL ATHLETICS— OUT OF BOUNDS?



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PARTICIPATION IN INTERSCHOLASTIC ATHLETICS:

by Delbert K. Clear

Sports-related litigation is on the rise. Do recent court decisions portend the end of effective institutional control of athletic programs? Mr. Clear attempts to exorcise the specter of judicial involvement in athletics.

THEY FIGHT—FIGHT—FIGHT FOR THE RIGHT—RIGHT—RIGHT

A perceptible tremor swept through high school and college interscholastic athletics last spring, when a federal district court in Minnesota ordered that a varsity basketball player be admitted to a degree program at the University of Minnesota, so that his athletic eligibility would remain intact and his chances for a career in professional basketball would not be impaired by university action.¹ This order, coupled with an earlier reinstatement of several players to the varsity football team at the University of Wyoming by a judge who determined that their opportunity to play college football was a "valuable right,"² may portend the end of effective institutional regulation and control of athletic programs. Once the courts impose due process standards on administrators and other program officials, many people believe that control also passes from the host institutions to the courts. Whether this will prove true is beside the point; those who think so will act accordingly, making few decisions that might be challenged, in order to avoid the inconvenience, embarrassment, and expense of responding to a lawsuit.³

Certainly the specter of judicial involvement seems real in high school interscholastic athletics, where control by local school districts and regional and

state athletic associations has traditionally been rigid. An increasing number of regulations have been challenged in recent years; between 1977 and 1980, for example, more than 200 cases involving sports participation in elementary and secondary schools — excluding tort suits — were filed (see Table 1).⁴

The regulations did not escape without casualties. Among those that the courts upset or ruled inapplicable to particular students were regulations that denied participation in athletics to students who: attended sports-oriented summer camps,⁵ had recently transferred into a district,⁶ exceeded age and consecutive-semester participation limits,⁷ or desired to participate on teams made up predominantly of members of the opposite sex.⁸ Even earlier, three federal district courts had ruled independently that proscriptions against participation in athletics by married students were unconstitutional,⁹ and an Iowa judge had reinstated a student who broke training rules regarding alcoholic beverages.¹⁰ Not surprisingly, many people saw these rulings as evidence that administrators and coaches were no longer in charge of athletic programs. Indeed, the ultimate challenge — questioning a coach's right to select players to participate in a particular contest — was made in 1980, although the student lost.¹¹

The number of sports-related court cases nearly doubled between 1979 and 1980. Of the 85 such legal actions begun in 1980, only six were grounded in claims related to handicaps or illnesses. In each

of these, the plaintiffs sought exemption from eight-semester or age rules regarding eligibility to participate, on the ground that their handicapping conditions had caused them to fall behind their peers of the same age. To deny them participation would, they claimed, penalize them for conditions beyond their control. In four of these six cases the students prevailed.¹² Indeed, student challenges to eligibility regulations on this and other grounds almost doubled between 1979 and 1980. Although it's too early to be certain, it appears that "successes" (from the students' perspective) have also risen.

Table 2 shows all sports-related litigation in elementary and secondary schools between 1977 and 1980, according to type of claim and disposition. Most apparent (and comforting) is the lack of evidence that the courts are taking control of the schools' athletic programs. No matter how the trend is calculated — ratios, percentages, or raw-score differences — the courts overwhelmingly have found for the defendant school districts or associations and their rules. In five of the seven categories of cases, more than three-fourths of all the decisions have supported the rules. Moreover, the increased number of cases in 1980 does not seem to have changed substantially the percentage of findings in favor of defendants, except in the first two categories. In the first category, the increase in plaintiff victories is directly attributable to the cases related to handicaps or illnesses; in the second category, the increase amounts to only six

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percentage points. In all other categories, the courts' support of existing regulations actually increased.

Table 2 also shows that the growing awareness of discrimination by gender has not created a flood of litigation. Clearly, judicial leadership, legislative and fiscal pressure, and educators' own sense of justice have combined to produce reasonable levels of sex equity in athletics. Where problems remain (as surely they must), solutions are apparently being sought outside the courts.

Although this compilation of sports-related cases was not intended to be a thorough search for constitutional claims,¹³ a content analysis of the cases revealed that explicit claims for participation as a property right occurred infrequently. In only seven instances was this claim a major factor, and the rules established by the defendants prevailed in all but one.

Despite the rulings favoring players at the Universities of Minnesota and Wyo-

ming, plaintiffs have not generally been successful in challenging participation regulations. Among the regulations that the courts have repeatedly upheld are:

- eight-semester and age-limit regulations;
- residence, transfer, and nonsanctioned-play regulations;
- training rules;
- academic, attendance, and behavioral standards; and
- other reasonable eligibility requirements.

Nevertheless, the courts have been willing to recognize the imposition of rules as providing sufficient cause for action, and they have decided in favor of the plaintiffs from time to time.

A careful examination of these exceptions provides some guidance on how educational institutions can avoid further encroachments on their control of athletic programs.

Schools and athletic associations can no longer claim that participation in sports is a privilege and thus not subject to judicial scrutiny. The 1970 standard that "the privilege of participating in interscholastic athletics must be deemed to fall . . . outside the protection of due process"¹⁴ no longer prevails. As a court observed in 1982, "The right-versus-privilege distinction has long since been abandoned in the area of due process."¹⁵

However, the courts have not recognized participation as a vested right under

the 14th Amendment; hence, regulations regarding participation will not receive strict judicial scrutiny. Statements by the courts in two 1978 cases are typical of this stance: "Participation in interscholastic athletics is not a constitutionally protected civil right."¹⁶

From whence, then, comes the litigation? It arises from three primary sources. First, plaintiffs continue to claim, with some success, constitutional violations — most frequently, of First and 14th Amendment guarantees. Second, plaintiffs have claimed an absence of rule-making power in general. (This approach was successful in the attack on regulations barring married students from athletic participation.) Third, and most frequent, plaintiffs attempt to convince the courts that a relative interest in participation exists. This approach places the issue between two views of participation: as neither a mere privilege nor a protected right.

As early as 1968, a court pointed out that "it is universally recognized that a secondary school's athletic program is an integral part of the students' total educational experience."¹⁷ This same court also suggested that an athlete's chance to win a collegiate athletic scholarship might be cognizable. By 1973 the courts had recognized the right to participate in athletics as constitutionally "significant" — though "significantly less important" than participation in academic study.¹⁸ As a result, the courts generally apply the rational-and-reasonable test to rules governing athletic participation. In other words, if a rule is reasonably related to a public interest, the courts will uphold it. The public interest in discouraging the recruiting of high school athletes, for example, makes legitimate those rules regarding eligibility for athletic participation after transferring from one school to another.¹⁹ Similarly, the public interest in assuring fair competition has been recognized as validating age-limit rules.²⁰ The courts have found that other eligibility requirements having to do with such things as attendance, behavior, and training are related to educational values, and they have upheld them, generally following the principle articulated by the Nebraska Supreme Court in 1978: that "rules governing the conduct of participants in interscholastic athletics duly and regularly adopted by school authorities ought to be valid and enforceable unless they are clearly arbitrary and unreasonable and serve no legitimate end of educational athletic policy."²¹

However, the recognition that students have a substantial right to participate in athletics has not come, despite numerous attempts by plaintiffs to use the expectation of college or university athletic

Table 1. Number of Court Cases Filed in Elementary and Secondary Schools, by Year and Type

Year	Sports-Related	Handicap-Related	Other Issues	Total Cases
1977	36	85	116	217
1978	34	144	137	315
1979	46	199	126	371
1980	85	256	186	527
Total	201	664	565	1,430

scholarships as the ground for a property interest. As early as 1958, a student claimed that his interest in obtaining an athletic scholarship was sufficient to exempt him from a regulation that made married students ineligible to participate, but the court upheld the regulation.²² In 1978 an Ohio court ruled that "injuries from lost media exposure and lost athletic scholarships are too speculative to establish a property interest."²³ In Illinois a court simply stated that "an expectation of an athletic scholarship interest does not amount to a property interest."²⁴ An Indiana court observed that:

[C]onsidering the rising cost of a college education, certainly a majority of young people could claim that an athletic scholarship would enhance their opportunity to gain a college education. That is not a satisfactory reason, per se, for permitting [high school students] to disregard the rules.²⁵

In 1980 a similar claim was rejected in Texas:

[M]embers of the high school football team had no property interest in alleged

injury to their hoped-for careers in college football or for scholarships arising from inability to play in the football playoffs or to be viewed by college scouts, and, therefore, the privilege of participating in interscholastic athletics fell outside the protection of due process.²⁶

Recently a Pennsylvania court surveyed all the cases it could locate wherein plaintiffs claimed a property right to participate in athletics. It found that:

[N]o fewer than 30 jurisdictions have previously addressed this issue. The overwhelming majority have rejected the notion that participation in athletics is a property right. . . . The possibility of athletic scholarships does not invest the student with a property right.²⁷

Thus the courts will not regularly impose strict scrutiny and full due process requirements when they examine eligibility decisions. However, they will require that some due process be given a student who is declared ineligible. The Supreme Court established a flexible situational standard for such due process in *Goss v. Lopez*,²⁸ when it stated that, where the

deprivation is *de minimis*, some oral or written notice of the charges must be given, and, if they are denied, some explanation of the evidence and an opportunity to refute it must be provided. Applying this standard to a high school student's level of interest in participating in athletics, a Nebraska court observed, "The Supreme Court required these rudimentary precautions against unfair or mistaken findings and arbitrary exclusion from school. Certainly, no greater requirements should be imposed for expulsion from interscholastic athletics."²⁹

From time to time the courts have found sufficient deprivation of due process to justify judicial intervention in cases involving athletic participation. Sometimes the courts have overturned the regulations; in other cases, court rulings merely restore individual plaintiffs to eligibility, leaving the regulations intact. The decisions are instructive, because they reveal the practices that the courts will not support.

Consider the case of *Hall v. University of Minnesota*. Two major points must be made regarding its potential application to participation in high school athletics. First, it is questionable whether a court would equate Mark Hall's interest in a professional contract with that of a high school student's expectation of an athletic scholarship. Hall was, in fact, "recruited to come to the University of Minnesota to be a basketball player and not a scholar."³⁰ It is not likely that a court would recognize such a limited motive for a high school student's presence in school.³¹ Second, and most important, the court did not order Hall admitted solely because of his recognized property interest in playing during his senior year. That interest merely invoked scrutiny of his nonadmission for due process, and this scrutiny revealed that the university had failed to treat Hall's application as it did other students' — and as its own catalog said applications would be treated.³² For these reasons Hall was ordered admitted. Such problems could not easily occur in high schools, because admission is not in question. Thus it would seem that direct extrapolation from *Hall* to participation in high school athletics is unlikely, although high schools will no doubt be required to follow the rules they have established. This is certainly neither news nor cause for alarm.

A recent decision of the New Hampshire Supreme Court is germane to the issue of participation in athletics. Here, the court reasoned that:

[I]t is apparent that interscholastic ath-

Table 2. Number of Sports-Related Cases in Elementary and Secondary Schools, by Type of Complaint, Year, and Who Prevailed

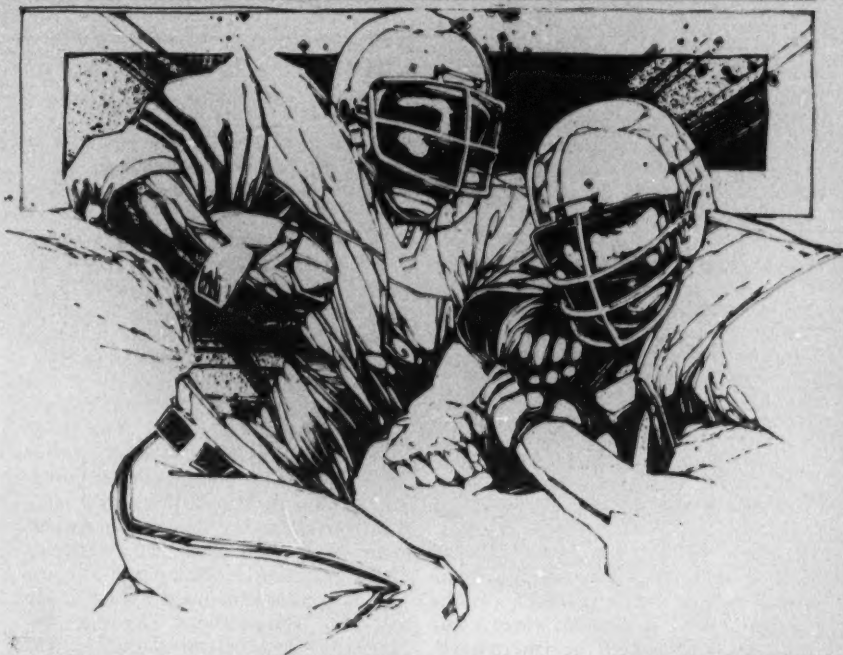
Type of Complaint	Who Prevailed	Year and Number of Cases				Total
		1977	1978	1979	1980	
Against eight-semester and/or age-limit rules	Plaintiff	0	1	1	5	7
	Defendant	9	4	9	17	39
	Unk. or Moot	0	1	1	0	2
Against rules regarding residence, transfer, and participation in non-sanctioned competition	Plaintiff	0	7	2	9	18
	Defendant	10	8	10	18	46
	Unk. or Moot	2	2	2	2	8
Against suspension for breaking training rules	Plaintiff	0	0	0	0	0
	Defendant	1	1	2	2	6
	Unk. or Moot	0	0	0	2	2
Against academic, attendance, or behavioral standards	Plaintiff	0	0	3	1	4
	Defendant	3	0	0	5	8
	Unk. or Moot	0	1	1	1	3
Against miscellaneous eligibility requirements	Plaintiff	2	4	3	1	10
	Defendant	2	0	2	10	14
	Unk. or Moot	3	0	1	1	5
Against discrimination based on gender	Plaintiff	0	1	2	1	4
	Defendant	3	2	3	4	12
	Unk. or Moot	0	0	2	4	6
Explicitly cite loss of opportunity for college athletic scholarships	Plaintiff	0	0	1	0	1
	Defendant	1	1	1	2	5
	Unk. or Moot	0	1	0	0	1
Total		36	34	46	85	201

letics are considered an integral and important element of the educational process in New Hampshire. It follows that the right to participate in them at least rises above that of mere privilege. Recognizing this, and the stark fact that a student's ability to attend college and further his education may, in many instances, hinge upon his athletic ability and athletic scholarships, we hold that the right of a student to participate in interscholastic athletics is one that is entitled to the protection of procedural due process under Part I, Article 15, of our State Constitution.³³

This statement must be read very carefully. The court merely observes in passing that the possibility of a hoped-for scholarship generally supports the proposition that any student who is declared ineligible to participate in high school athletics deserves some due process. In no way does the court directly endorse the expectation of a particular scholarship as constituting a property interest to the plaintiff. This is evident in the court's reasoning, which turned almost exclusively on the illness that caused the plaintiff's one-year absence from school on a physician's advice. The fact that the athletic association chose to disbelieve the medical evidence regarding the illness and failed to take testimony on the matter led directly to the finding of due process violation and thus to the plaintiff's reinstatement. The eligibility regulation itself was not found deficient.

Herein lies the key to understanding the limits that courts are likely to place on enforcement of various eligibility and participation standards. If a student's deviation from a rule is due to matters not under his or her control and if this is not duly considered by the administering body, then the courts may subject the resulting deprivation (that is, the loss of eligibility) to strict judicial scrutiny and a showing of compelling — rather than merely rational and reasonable — state interest. Recent cases wherein students have been restored to athletic eligibility illustrate this principle.

An Ohio student with a hearing impairment, who had lost a grade after assignment to a program for the deaf, was reinstated to eligibility for participation even though he surpassed the age limit.³⁴ In Oklahoma a student with dyslexia (a learning disability), who was still in school past the age limit for participation, was reinstated to the track team. The court found that the boy had been retained because the school had failed to provide appropriate special education placement for him.³⁵ Two courts have ordered eligibility for athletic participation restored where attendance and/or age limits were exceed-



ed due to illness.³⁶ An emotionally disturbed student in Texas was exempted from transfer regulations and permitted to play football immediately upon moving into a new school district. He had moved from his parents' home under court order arising from his emotional disability, and testimony of his therapist showed that immediate participation in his new school would be "therapeutically beneficial." Attorneys' fees were also awarded.³⁷

An exception to this pattern occurred in Oregon, where the athletic association's age limit of 19 for sports participation was upheld despite the student's having repeated a grade due to his handicap.³⁸ Other exceptions have been won on grounds other than handicaps. In Kentucky a student was exempted from a transfer rule when his living arrangements were changed in a divorce action.³⁹ The Kentucky High School Athletic Association refused to grant the student eligibility, because his move did not correspond exactly with that of his custodial parent. Finding that the move was involuntary on the student's part and that there was no evidence of inducement or recruiting, the court ruled that the application of the rule to this student was unfair, unjust, and arbitrary. Since the rule was intended to eliminate the recruiting of high school athletes, the court felt that the student's eligibility should have been determined on that ground alone.

In none of these cases did the courts upset the rules. The courts simply found that the application of these rules to par-

ticular students was unlawful. However, scrutiny of due process can reveal deficiencies inherent in language or motivation sufficient to invalidate the rules themselves. The most obvious example of this is the well-established demise of rules against married students participating in high school athletics.

A gender-discrimination rule in Arkansas was similarly struck down, when a court found that an association regulation requiring girls to compete in basketball according to girls' (so-called "half court") rules placed girls at such a disadvantage that they were denied equal protection of the law, a 14th Amendment right. Testimony had shown that "the disadvantage is tremendous. It takes about a year for a half-court girl with talent to adjust to the difference in games. Even the University of Arkansas does most of its recruiting out of state for just this reason." Moreover, "tradition alone, without supporting gender-related substantive reasons," was the justification for the regulation.⁴⁰ In other words, the court found no compelling — or even rational — state interest.

Another court found a transfer rule to be too broad and hence defective. The plaintiffs had claimed that the rule invaded familial privacy and the right to travel and that it was not rationally related to deterring recruitment. The matter arose when the plaintiff moved with his family from Vermont to Austin, Texas. He had played varsity basketball in Vermont but was told in Texas that he would be ineligible for one year. Recognizing that discouraging recruitment was a legitimate

state interest, the court noted that the rule created two classes of students — “those who do not transfer from one school to another, as compared to those who transfer” — and treated them differently.⁴¹ In examining whether this classification was reasonable in light of the purpose of the rule, the court found that

in practical effect the challenged classification simply does not operate rationally to deter recruitment. The . . . rule is overbroad and overinclusive. The rule burdens many high school athletes who were not recruited and were forced to move when their families moved for employment or other reasons. The fact that there is no means of rebutting the presumption that all transferring athletes have been recruited illustrates the capriciousness of the rule.⁴²

The court declined to rule on the claims of invasion of familial privacy and the right to travel. But the latter approach was unsuccessful earlier in Oregon, where a student claimed for himself the right to travel and objected to the association's exemptions for students who moved with their parents.⁴³

Several of these decisions against association rules hinged partially on the nature and quality of the manner in which the matters were handled, both at the original decision and upon appeal. This commonality is easy to overlook, but to do so would be to miss one of the major conclusions to be drawn from them: that courts will require that students have an opportunity to present their sides of the issues and have them considered fairly. In *Kentucky High School Athletic Association v. Jackson*, the court was critical of the fact that “the record on this appeal fails to establish that any proceeding before the Association provided a reasonable basis for declaring Kevin Jackson ineligible.”⁴⁴ The Texas court that restored eligibility to John Doe did so partly because “there is apparently no structure within the organizational scheme of the University Interscholastic League which provides a mechanism by which special and individual cases such as John Doe's may be given special and individual handling.”⁴⁵ In *Sullivan* the Texas court expressed dismay over “the fact that there is no means of rebutting the presumption that all transferring students have been recruited.”⁴⁶ Though *Hall* was a higher education case, the importance of the opportunity to rebut charges or to present a special situation that this case established is no less applicable to high schools. On two occasions in the *Hall* decision, the

Two Court Decisions Affect Intercollegiate Athletics

Two recent court decisions could have a significant impact on the conduct of intercollegiate athletics. In the most recent, a federal district court judge, in a decision handed down in Oklahoma, ruled that the negotiating of television rights by the National Collegiate Athletic Association (NCAA) on behalf of member schools violates the Sherman Anti-Trust Act. The court held that telecasting rights are the property of the competing schools and can be sold or assigned at their discretion. The judge voided the current four-year agreement and enjoined the NCAA from negotiating or entering into further agreements.

In an earlier decision, a state appeals court in Indiana ruled that an Indiana State University football player who was seriously injured in practice is entitled to workers' compensation payments because he held a football scholarship. The court ruled that the scholarship constituted a contract and created an employer/employee relationship between the student and the university.

Each of the decisions is expected to be appealed.

court laid out the appropriate standard. One will suffice to make the point:

[T]he manner in which the UWW processed the plaintiff's application strongly suggests that he has been treated disparately and in a manner violative of due process. The plaintiff was given no notice nor any opportunity to answer the allegations leveled against him by the Dean of the General College. It is especially conceivable that the plaintiff would have had a “good answer” to these charges had he been given an opportunity to respond.⁴⁷

Duffley v. New Hampshire Interscholastic Athletics Association is most illustrative of how *not* to handle decisions on eligibility. Here, the decision that the student was ineligible was made by a committee that 1) ignored medical evidence regarding the reasons for the student's missing an entire year of school, 2) substituted its own judgment about his health, and 3) failed to notify the plaintiff of the real reasons for denying his petition. After discovering that Duffley had not been told the real reasons for the decision on his eligibility until after the case was filed, the court ruled that the action was void. It concluded that, despite four separate considerations and appeals by

three different bodies, the association “found no facts and gave no reasons for its decision.”⁴⁸ The court reacted so strongly to this that it based its entire decision on the defects of the hearing process without even considering Duffley's other claims.

These rulings all indicate that there is no room in the administration of athletic eligibility requirements for blind loyalty that treats such requirements as sacrosanct. Decisions on and appeals of such regulations must be determined on the merits of each case. All facts must be considered, not just those that support tradition and uniformity.

Sports-related litigation is on the rise. Consequently, an increasing number of association regulations will be modified or struck down, since judicial examination will inevitably find poorly drawn or misapplied policies and procedures. The lessons are plain. Athletic associations should carefully examine their rules and practices to determine whether they are compatible with such societal changes as one-parent families, shared-custody arrangements, occupational and geographical mobility, and special circumstances (such as race, gender, or handicapping condition) that are protected by due process. They should also carefully consider whether their rules can stand judicial testing of the proposition that rules must serve only as means to protecting some clearly justifiable public interest, not as ends in themselves. Finally, all initial decisions and rulings on appeals must fully consider the individual's position, taking all factors into account. Only if these conditions are met will the inconvenience and expense of litigation be avoided.

The following well-established legal standards should guide reexamination of association rules:

1. Participation is more than an unregulated privilege.
2. Participation is not a fully protected right.
3. Students have a recognized “significant” interest in participation.
4. Rules must be rationally and reasonably related to a legitimate educational purpose.
5. In certain circumstances, rules will be subject to strict judicial scrutiny, requiring that a compelling state interest be shown.
6. Appeals must be handled without bias.

When these standards are applied to the various categories of eligibility, regulations regarding age, residence, transfer, and nonsanctioned play will stand or fall

depending on how they: 1) rationally relate to the state's interest in education; 2) demonstrably function as means to such ends as preventing unfair competition, injury, or excessive pressure on young people, rather than as ends in themselves; 3) avoid rendering students ineligible due to circumstances beyond their personal control; and 4) provide for reviews and appeals that allow students' sides of the issues to be fully heard.⁴⁹

Although it is never possible to be certain how a judge will treat a given incident, it is reasonable to conclude that rulings declaring students ineligible for reasons beyond their personal control will be the most vulnerable in court. This explains the rising number of exemptions from age and transfer rules because of handicaps, illnesses, and parental residence. No such trend has occurred in litigation arising from academic, attendance, behavior, and other requirements where — perhaps arguably — the courts presume that students direct their own fates.

Those who make and implement eligibility rules must distinguish between these two kinds of transgressions, if they are to treat all students fairly and equally before the law. Doing so will sharply reduce the amount of litigation and increase the chances of prevailing when litigation does arise.

1. *Hall v. University of Minnesota et al.*, 53 F.Supp. 104 (1982).
2. *Williams v. Eaton et al.*, 443 F.2d and 422 (Wyo. 1971).
3. The rarity of teacher dismissals in public schools and colleges today is testimony to this fact. Personnel decisions that once were management prerogatives are now typically subject to due process standards.
4. These data come from Thomas Marvell, Armand Galfo, and John Rockwell, *Student Litigation: A Compilation and Analysis of Civil Cases Involving Students, 1977-1981* (Williamsburg, Va.: National Center for State Courts, 1982), pp. 12-14 and passim. The authors estimate that they located 60% to 70% of all cases, with a higher success rate in 1979 and 1980 than in the previous two years (pp. 26-28).
5. *Kite v. Marshall*, 494 F.Supp. 227 (Tex. 1980). Although subsequently reversed by the court of appeals (661 F.2d 1027, 5th Cir. 1981), the district court's careful analysis of the claim may be a preview of what will eventually become a constitutional limitation on rulemaking in high school interscholastic athletics.
6. *Doe v. Marshall*, 459 F.Supp. 1190 (Tex. 1978), 622 F.2d 118 (Tex. 1980); and *Sullivan v. University Athletic League et al.*, 616 S.W.2d 170 (Tex. 1981).
7. *Woods v. Ohio High School Athletic Association*, Pickaway County Common Pleas Court, 1980, cited in Marvell et al., p. 160.
8. *Dodson v. Arkansas Activities Association*, 468 F.Supp. 394 (1979).
9. *Holt v. Shelton*, 341 F.Supp. 821 (Tenn. 1972); *Davis v. Meek*, 344 F.Supp. 298 (Ohio 1972); and *Moran v. Yellowstone Co.*, 350 F.Supp. 1180 (Mont. 1972).
10. *Bunger v. Iowa Athletic Association*, 197 N.W.2d 555 (1972). The court did not encroach on the general power to establish training rules, however. It simply declared that a rule punishing a student for be-

ing in a car where alcoholic beverages were present — without regard to whether the beverages were consumed — was too broad.

11. *Caruso v. Pearson*, Morgan County Cir. Ct. (Ind. 1980), cited in Marvell et al., p. 80.
12. Five of these cases are trial court decisions in Ohio, Oklahoma, Oregon, and Pennsylvania, summarized in Marvell et al., pp. 70, 160, 163, 165, and 173. The sixth is the decision of the federal circuit court in *Doe v. Marshall*.
13. Marvell et al., p. 13.
14. *Mitchell v. Louisiana Athletic Association*, 430 F.2d 1155, 1158 (1970).
15. *Hall v. University of Minnesota*, at 107, citing *Goldberg v. Kelly*, 90 S.Ct. 1011 (1970). See also *Graham v. Richardson*, 91 S.Ct. 1848 (1971).
16. *Ward v. Robinson et al.*, 496 F.Supp. 1 (1978), at 1; and *Kulovitz v. Illinois High School Association*, 462 F.Supp. 875 (1978), at 877.
17. *Kelley v. Metropolitan County Board of Education of Nashville et al.*, 293 F.Supp. 485 (Tenn. 1968), at 494.
18. *Brenden v. Independent School District 742*, 477 F.2d (1973), at 1299.
19. Don F. Vaccaro, "Validity of Regulation of Athletic Eligibility of Students Voluntarily Transferring from One School to Another," 15 ALR 4th 885.
20. *Kulovitz v. Illinois High School Association*, at 879.
21. *Braesch v. DePasquale*, 265 N.W.2d 842 (Neb. 1978), at 846.
22. *Kissick v. Garland Independent School District*, 330 S.W.2d 708 (Tex. 1959).
23. *Yellow Springs, etc. v. Ohio High School Athletic Association*, 443 F.Supp. 753 (1978), at 758.
24. *Kulovitz v. Illinois High School Association*, at 878.
25. *Kriss v. Indiana High School Athletic Association*, 390 N.E.2d 193 (1979), at 198.
26. *Blue v. University Athletic League*, 503 F.Supp. 1030 (Tex. 1980), at 1031.
27. *Admek v. Pennsylvania Interscholastic Association*, 426 A.2d 1206 (1981), at 1207, 1208.
28. *Goss v. Lopez*, 95 S.Ct. 729 (1975).
29. *Braesch v. DePasquale*, at 845, 846.
30. *Hall v. University of Minnesota et al.*, at 106.
31. It is also questionable whether a high school student could establish the interest as convincingly as Hall, who could cite data to support his claim that, by playing, he would have a "significant opportunity" to be a second-round draft choice and, by not playing, he would likely be a sixth-round choice. A second-round draft choice is more likely to receive a no-cut contract. It would also seem unlikely that a high school student

could ever make the chance for a scholarship non-speculative. Letters of intent from universities may someday be used in such an effort, however.

32. The university's error was primarily in 1) using personal and political data to reject an academic application that met all stated academic standards and 2) permitting a dean to veto an admissions committee's vote to admit Hall, when the catalog explicitly stated that the admissions committee would rule on all applications (*Hall v. University of Minnesota et al.*, at 108).
33. *Duffley v. New Hampshire Interscholastic Athletics Association*, 446 A.2d 462 (1982), at 467.
34. *Woods v. Ohio High School Athletic Association*, *supra*.
35. *Mahan v. Oklahoma High School Activities Association*, Oklahoma County Dist. Ct., April 1980, cited in Marvell et al., p. 163.
36. *Duffley v. New Hampshire Interscholastic Athletics Association* and *White v. Pennsylvania Interscholastic Athletic Association*, Allegheny County Common Pleas Court, 1979, cited in Marvell et al., p. 173.
37. *Doe v. Marshall*, *supra*.
38. *Jenkins v. Oregon School Activities Association*, Oregon Court of Appeals, February 1981, cited in Marvell et al., p. 165.
39. *Kentucky High School Athletic Association v. Jackson*, 569 S.W.2d 185 (1978).
40. *Dodson v. Arkansas Activities Association*, at 397.
41. *Sullivan v. University Athletic League*, at 172.
42. *Supra.*, at 173.
43. *Josephine County School District v. Oregon School Activities Association*, 515 P.2d 431 (1973).
44. *Kentucky High School Athletic Association v. Jackson*, *supra.*, at 188.
45. *Doe v. Marshall*, at 1191.
46. *Sullivan v. University Athletic League*, at 173.
47. *Hall v. University of Minnesota et al.*, at 110.
48. *Duffley v. New Hampshire Interscholastic Athletics Association*, at 468.
49. Ironically, the New Hampshire Interscholastic Athletics Association has a model policy for handling student appeals. The criteria to be considered (Article II, Section 6, *Deviations*) are: the merits of the individual case, whether or not granting the deviation from the rule would be inconsistent with the purposes of the rule, and whether or not the individual concerned caused or contributed to cause the existence of the factors that result in ineligibility. The association found itself in court because it did not follow its own rules. Had it done so, the entire matter would have been avoided. □



"I want you to work on your own for a while, class. I'm going to go home and watch television."

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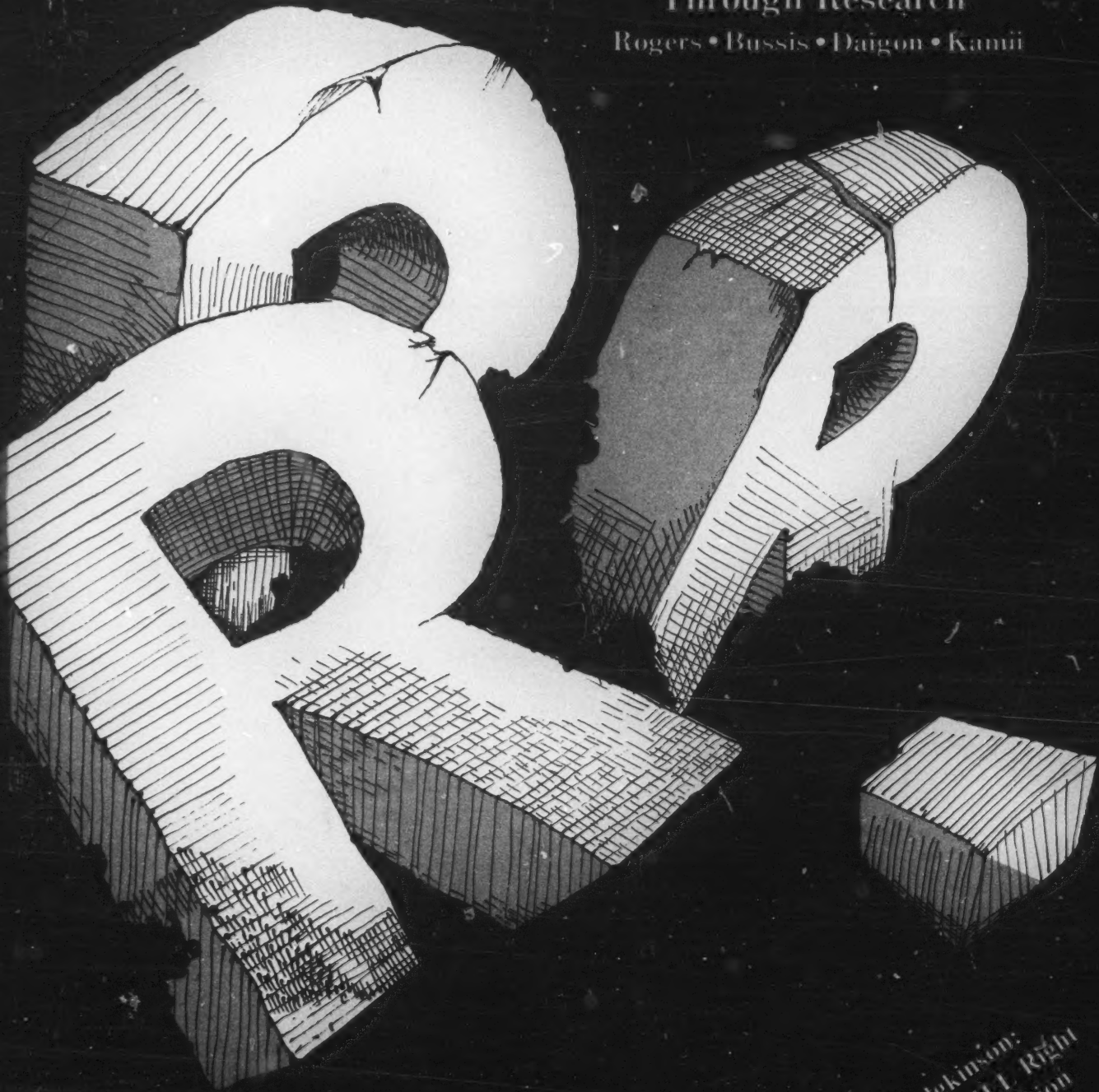
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Restoring the Three R's
Through Research

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Hodgkinson:
What's STILL Right
With Education

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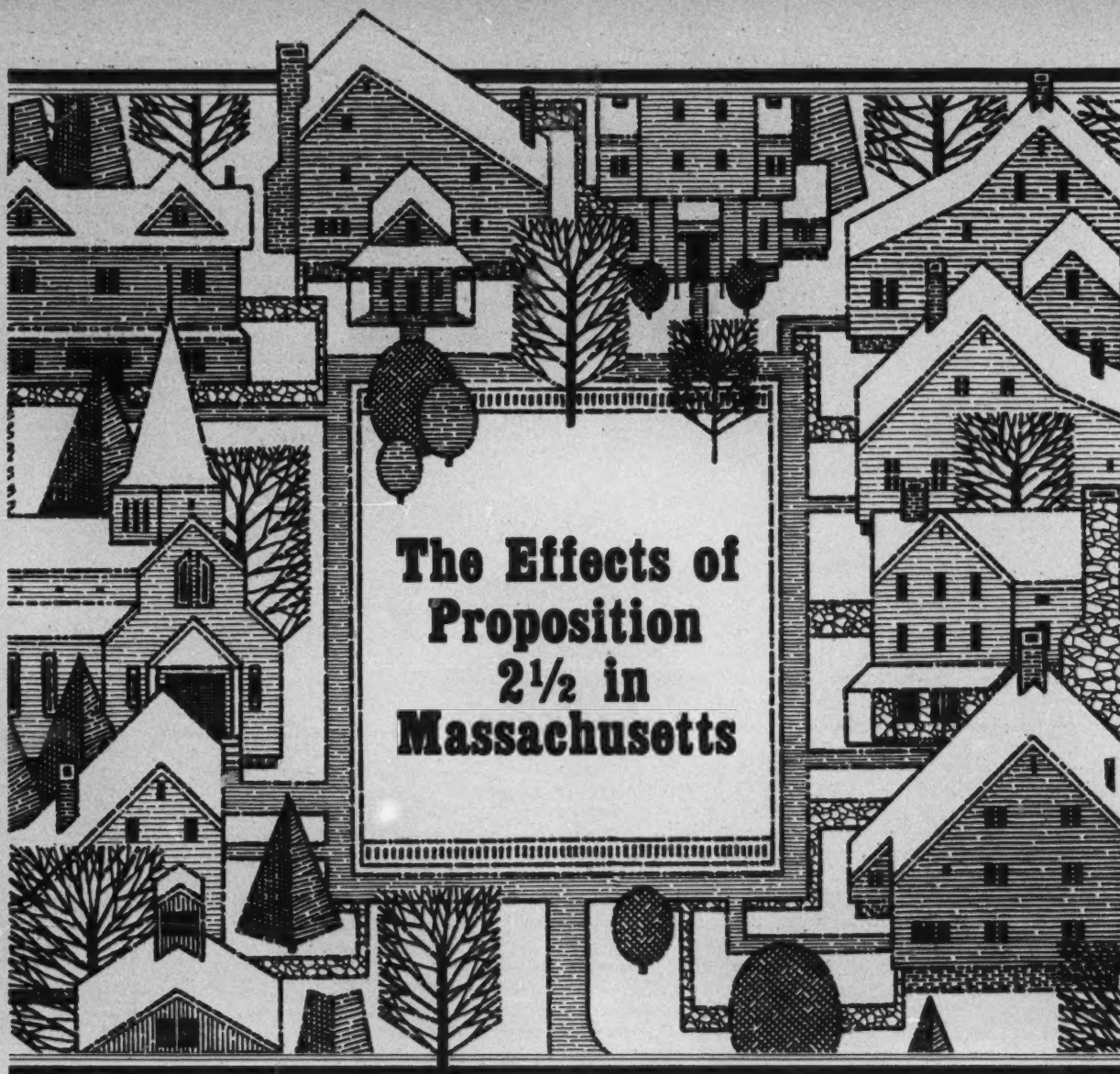
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The Effects of Proposition 2½ in Massachusetts

by Edward P. Morgan

President Reagan's New Federalism is a concrete and dramatic shift away from the Great Society programs of the Kennedy-Johnson years. Indeed, the Eighties may prove to be the culmination of more than 12 years of effort under four different Presidents to undo many of the federal "excesses" of the Sixties.

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Two years after Massachusetts voters approved Proposition 2½, Mr. Morgan finds that the cutbacks resulting from this measure have fallen on those who can least afford them. Moreover, he says, Proposition 2½ represents a "missed opportunity" for equalizing the financing of schools in the state.

The New Federalism reflects a conservative preference for "less government" and more local autonomy. By significantly reducing federal domestic spending and by emphasizing block grants to the states, the New Federalism shifts from the federal government to the states much of the responsibility for social programs and community development. But many on-lookers question the ability of the states to provide adequate fiscal support for these domestic needs.

They have predicted at least three trends for the 1980s: 1) an increase in fiscal pressures on the states in general, 2)

sizable regional disparities in the states' revenue-raising capacities and spending levels, and 3) a continuing decline among older, financially pinched cities of the Northeast and the Midwest. Because states and localities bear most of the financial burden for public education, these trends pose serious threats to the public schools.

In effect, the states are caught in a three-way squeeze. First, state and local revenue capacities are losing ground to inflation. Second, the flow of federal dollars to the states has been declining under Reagan. (The proposed federal budget for

fiscal year 1983 decreased funding for education by 33% from 1981 spending levels, for example.) Third, many states — more than 16 since 1978 — have experienced their own “taxpayers’ revolts,” which have resulted in tax or spending limitations.

Economist Kathleen Adams has predicted that the 1980s will see “an unprecedented decline in the fiscal health of many states.”¹ It is clear, however, that this decline will be concentrated largely in the Northeast and the Midwest, where many energy-consuming states have been especially hard hit by a recession in the manufacturing sector, causing their tax revenues to fall significantly below the national norm. Many of these states (along with low-income states in the South) depend heavily on federal aid and thus will feel more sharply the effects of the federal budget cuts. Moreover, these states face a particularly acute deterioration of their capital stock (e.g., highways, buildings, water and sewage systems), and they have large populations that depend on public services. In short, the picture is not bright for these states.

The effects of such fiscal pressures on educational equity will be a matter of concern in coming years. First, the federal cutbacks have reduced funding for various compensatory and special education programs (the proposed fiscal year 1983 budget for Title I programs, for example, was down 38% from fiscal year 1981). And the current efforts to deregulate education and to shift from categorical to block grants will make it harder for the federal government to target funds for special populations.

Second, the rapid growth of state aid to education during the 1970s — often taking the form of equalization reforms — has slowed, and local support of education has increased.² Thus educational revenues are becoming more closely tied to an inequitable property tax. Third, the spreading taxpayers’ revolt is likely to exacerbate these inequities. To date, there is little evidence that Michael Kirst was wrong when he predicted in 1979 that school finance reform and the taxpayers’ revolt are on a collision course.³

Finally, as school systems trim their budgets, the needier student populations seem likely to suffer the most. Federal funding targeted at specific groups will be reduced; in addition, local decision makers seem likely to be most responsive to active and influential community groups, which rarely include the parents of educationally needy, low-income pupils. These decision makers may begin charging fees for certain programs; reducing opportunities for special attention from such personnel as reading specialists,



**Despite the links
between Proposition 2½
and public education,
there is little evidence
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with the quality of
public education per se.**

bilingual teachers, and counselors; and failing to support racial integration fully.

Economic and political forecasts for the remainder of the decade are, of course, highly tenuous. But educators must carefully examine any evidence that may shed light on these trends. For three reasons, Massachusetts is a good place to begin a study of the impact on schools of fiscal distress at the state and local levels. First, Massachusetts is fairly representative of other fiscally stressed states. Second, the passage by Massachusetts voters of Proposition 2½ allows us to examine the impact of the taxpayers’ revolt on the schools. And third, because of past inequities in educational finance, Massachusetts provides a rich source of information on the clash between school finance reform and the taxpayers’ revolt.

In November 1980, Massachusetts voters approved — by a 59%-41% margin — a referendum that imposed various statutory restrictions on state and local finances. Most important, the referendum limited the local property-tax levy to 2½% of the full market value of taxable property. It required communities to reduce “effective tax rates” by 15% each year until they attained this level, after which they could increase local tax levies by no more than 2½% per year. In addition, the motor vehicle excise tax rate (a source of local revenue) was reduced from \$66 to \$25 per \$1,000 of value. Effective tax rates in Massachusetts in 1980 ranged from 0.9% to more than 10%, but they averaged more than 2½%; thus

Proposition 2½ was bound to affect local revenues immediately and substantially.

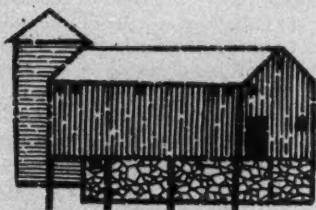
As I have already pointed out, the economic condition of Massachusetts is fairly typical of states in this region. But, despite a serious recession in 1973 and a statewide budget crisis in 1974, state spending in Massachusetts increased dramatically during the 1970s. The citizen-imposed tax limitation had its roots in an extremely heavy reliance on the local property tax for local revenues; in 1980, for example, 84.3% of all local revenues in Massachusetts came from the property tax, although the national average was only 53.3%.⁴ Candidates for public office had consistently called for property-tax relief and tax reform, but neither relief nor reform had been forthcoming between the mid-Sixties (when a sales tax was also instituted) and 1980.

But in 1980 a conservative group called Citizens for Limited Taxation (CLT) effectively tapped public resentment of property-tax burdens and general dissatisfaction toward government. Rebuffed in its earlier efforts to win tax relief through the state legislature, the CLT now used its substantial financial support from “high-tech” industries to wage an effective campaign for the passage of Proposition 2½. The November vote demonstrated the intensity of public sentiment favoring tax relief.

Because Massachusetts had relied so heavily on local property taxes to fund education, Proposition 2½ was bound to have a substantial effect on local school revenues. Other aspects of the referendum also affected education. In particular, Proposition 2½ eliminated the fiscal autonomy of local school committees (a protection that kept municipal officials from tampering with school budgets). As a result, school budgets now compete directly with budgets of municipal departments, and municipal — not school — officials have the final say on school spending.

Two other facets of Proposition 2½ also influence public education, at least indirectly. First, the state can no longer mandate new local services without providing the necessary revenue. (A frequent criticism of the landmark special education act, passed in the early 1970s, was that the state mandated costly educational services but never fulfilled its obligation to reimburse local school districts.) Second, Proposition 2½ eliminated binding arbitration between local officials and organizations of public employees (one of the more active of which was the Massachusetts Teachers Association).

Despite these links between Proposition 2½ and public education, there is little evidence that voters’ support for the referendum reflected dissatisfaction with



Prior to the start of the 1981-82 school year, 154 school buildings were closed because of Proposition 2½, program cuts occurred, class sizes increased, and strains developed in special education.

the quality of public education per se. Supporters did tend to view the referendum as a means of increasing their control over local school committees, while opponents often cited the inevitable cutback in educational services as a reason to vote against the measure.⁵ But the margin of support for Proposition 2½ at the local level did not correlate positively with local levels of funding for education, with recent increases in local spending for education, or with the average age of the local population. Instead, support for the referendum was strongest in communities characterized by low property wealth and high taxes. In other words, votes for Proposition 2½ reflected the self-interest of supporters, thus confirming the need for tax reform.⁶

Overall, support for Proposition 2½ was linked to general political conservatism; to concern about waste, corruption, and inefficiency in state and local governments; and to inequities in the property-tax burden. Regardless of voters' intentions, however, the passage of the referendum confronted local officials with a crisis that called for fiscal retrenchment, and funding for education was bound to figure prominently in the budget-cutting process. Depending on the amount and distribution of new state aid to compensate local communities for losses under Proposition 2½, local spending patterns could become either *more* equitable (through closer links to equalizing state funds) or *less* equitable (through closer ties to local property wealth). Since Massachusetts has one of the least equitable systems of school finance in the na-

tion⁷ and since a 1978 school finance reform had never been fully funded, Proposition 2½ provides a rich opportunity to examine the relationship between the taxpayers' revolt and educational equity.

I will examine here the impact of Proposition 2½ on education during the first year. Using data from several sources,⁸ I intend to review the statewide impact on education, local factors linked to retrenchment policies, and the distributive impact among cities, suburbs, small towns, and resorts. I will also examine projections of the impact of Proposition 2½ on urban areas during the second year. Finally, I will analyze projections for educational equity, in light of reported budget shifts during fiscal year 1982.

The Statewide Impact

According to state records, Massachusetts communities lost nearly \$500 million in local revenue in the first year after the passage of Proposition 2½. During the fall and winter of 1980-81, these communities developed local budgets that took into account anticipated revenue losses — with little notion of how much new state aid might be forthcoming.

Case studies of the local budgetary process suggest that municipal executives dominated the budget decisions. Heads of departments had less discretion than normally is the case; many of them were required to submit alternative budgets to fit different anticipated aid levels. Despite the fact that old antagonisms about the autonomy of school committees surfaced in several communities, representatives of teachers, parents, and students were noticeably absent at many stages of the budget-making process. Teacher organizations were unexpectedly quiet — in part, because they perceived a relative lack of public support for education. In general, the participation of citizens in these local deliberations was less than usual; even the turnouts for town meetings were low.⁹

Once communities had ratified local budgets, termination notices were sent to more than 15,000 school personnel, or 16% of the educational workforce statewide. Twelve percent of all teachers received notices, as did 19% of all administrators and 40% of all paraprofessional aides.¹⁰

However, during the summer of 1981 the legislature passed a new \$6.3 billion state budget, containing \$265 million in new state aid to local communities (an increase of more than \$200 million over the amount initially requested by Gov. Edward King — testimony to the clout of local officials in the state legislature).¹¹ The state distributed this new aid according to an existing "lottery" formula that

was not related to losses under Proposition 2½; thus many communities gained windfalls in local aid, while others (particularly cities) regained only a fraction of their lost revenue.

From a survey of representative communities, the Massachusetts Municipal Association found that public schools bore the brunt of local budget cuts. Public works, library, and parks and recreation budgets were also reduced somewhat disproportionately. By and large, budgets for police and fire departments suffered minimal reductions, although a few dramatic cuts in the larger cities focused considerable public attention on the "excesses" of Proposition 2½.¹²

A subsequent review of nearly all local school districts by the Massachusetts Association of School Committees revealed that some 3,000 school personnel were rehired after new state aid figures were announced. These rehiring brought the net loss of school personnel to 12.6%.¹³ Prior to the start of the 1981-82 school year, 226 school buildings were closed, 154 of them because of Proposition 2½. Curriculum cutbacks were most pronounced in art and music; libraries, remedial reading programs, industrial arts, and athletics also were hard hit by budget reductions. In some cases, these programs were eliminated entirely; in others, users' fees were instituted. Class sizes increased. Findings from a survey of special education directors suggested that new strains had developed in special education programs because of teacher layoffs and increased class sizes.¹⁴

The city of Springfield illustrates many of the cutbacks found statewide, particularly in the urban areas.¹⁵ Springfield is the third-largest city in Massachusetts, with a 1980 population of 152,000 and a 1981 public school population of 25,000 students and 1,560 teachers. Of these, 541 received notices of termination initially, although 151 were rehired after new aid figures were announced. Four Springfield schools were closed, 60% of all athletic programs were cut, no new textbooks were ordered, one-third of all teaching specialists (e.g., remedial reading) were laid off, lunch fees increased 25%, adult education fees increased, and successful alternative schools at the junior and senior high school levels underwent consolidation.

Echoing the view of some of his colleagues, the superintendent of schools in the city of Salem observed that fiscal year 1982 cutbacks were "manageable" because of declining enrollments but that "another round of cuts for fiscal year 1983 will prove disastrous to the system."¹⁶ Teachers, suffering morale problems because of terminations and anticipated future cuts, were far less san-

guine about the first-year impact of Proposition 2½. Even the general public perceived the significant impact of Proposition 2½ on the schools; 56% saw educational services as "greatly decreased" — more so than services in any other budget area. In a public opinion survey in April 1982, a majority reported that they would vote against Proposition 2½, if the referendum were held at that time.¹⁷

Local Factors Linked to Cutbacks

Although education generally bore the brunt of local cutbacks in the first year of Proposition 2½, the changes in school district budgets varied significantly. Some districts (primarily rural ones, with tax rates below 2½%) actually increased their school appropriations by as much as 10% to 15%. Other districts (usually in urban areas) reduced school budgets by 20% to 30%.

In my analysis of local school budgets, I looked at such factors as total budget shifts, changes in instructional and administrative expenditures, teacher layoffs (including those accomplished through attrition), school closings, and the institution of fees for services. My purpose was to determine the degree to which cutbacks were a function of five general factors: 1) local fiscal capacity, i.e., property wealth and income; 2) fiscal stress, as measured by population density, population decline, and the percentage of municipal and school expenditures allocated for fixed charges; 3) such educational factors as declining enrollments, past spending levels, and pupil/teacher ratios; 4) the local political environment, including public opinion, as measured by the local vote for political candidates and various statewide referenda and by demographic traits presumably linked to the local demand for education; and 5) the degree of citizen access to local government structures, which ranged from low-access city/town councils to high-access direct or "open" town meetings.

School closings were not significantly linked to any single local factor, largely because different school systems closed schools for different reasons. Cities and other communities characterized by low property wealth were most likely to cite "fiscal pressures" as the reason for closing schools. By contrast, wealthy communities were more likely to cite declining enrollments, and growing communities were more likely to cite new school construction.

Teacher layoffs were the one cutback most significantly linked to local factors. The districts that reduced their teaching staffs by more than 13% were characterized by the following traits:

- These districts were substantially

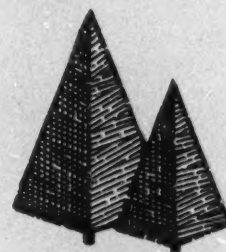
lower than others in both property value and income.

- They had higher tax rates and thus lost more revenue because of Proposition 2½.
- They were generally located in densely populated urban areas.
- They had suffered greater population declines in the past decade than other districts.
- These population declines were reflected in pronounced declines in pupil enrollments in 1980-81.
- These districts had higher proportions of fixed municipal expenditures than other districts.
- They had lower pupil/teacher ratios.
- They were more likely to have governments of the city/town council type.
- And voters in these districts had tended to vote quite conservatively in past elections.

Thus teacher layoffs across Massachusetts were linked to all five local factors that I examined in my study. In any given community, the decision to reduce the teaching workforce was actually a result of several fiscal and political factors that compounded one another. Across the state, cutbacks in the workforce were most significantly related to low property values, declining enrollments, fixed expenditures that constrained budgets, low citizen access to local government, and low pupil/teacher ratios. (This was the case, even when I took into account the revenue losses resulting from Proposition 2½.) Of these factors, local property value was the factor most significantly and consistently associated with cutbacks — a finding that demonstrates the inequitable impact of Proposition 2½.¹⁸

The political environment of local school systems was more variably linked to cutbacks in teaching staffs. In the suburbs, staff reductions were significantly *greater* than average in those communities characterized by conservative public opinion and significantly *smaller* in those characterized by liberal public opinion. Among cities and small towns, reductions correlated with the public demand for education; i.e., they were greater in older communities and smaller in communities that had higher proportions of school-aged children.

One might conclude that decisions to make substantial cutbacks in the teaching workforce — and in school budgets generally — were linked to local conditions that "forced" such decisions. In some communities, where declining enrollments and low pupil/teacher ratios prevailed, this was true. In other cases, the cause of such decisions was less clear-cut, however. For example, cutbacks in education were



Local property value was the factor most significantly and consistently associated with teacher layoffs — a finding that demonstrates the inequitable impact of Proposition 2½.

more pronounced in communities with more centralized decision-making structures, suggesting that the decision makers may have been out of touch with the priorities of the general public. (If public opinion surveys are reliable, the public would have preferred that retrenchment take place in areas other than education.)

More significant is the fact that the cutbacks in education were most clearly linked to local property values — that is, to the ability to pay for education and other services. What are the implications of this finding? First, the impact of the cutbacks falls disproportionately on older urban centers, where fiscal pressures and relatively low property wealth per capita are most prevalent. Second, the link between the impact of Proposition 2½ and property values does not augur well for educational equity — even though inequitable tax burdens appear to have stimulated some voters to support the referendum.

The Urban Crisis

The most striking aftermath of Proposition 2½ has been its disproportionate effect on Massachusetts cities. Despite several noteworthy urban redevelopment projects, most Massachusetts cities exhibit all the classic symptoms of urban crisis. Most of these cities have old capital facilities that require high expenditures for repair and reconstruction. For example, the average age of the housing in most cities exceeds 40 years. As Table 1 shows, the cities have lower per-capita property wealth from which to draw revenues, high

Table 1. Urban Distress Measures

Community Type*	Population Change, 1970-80 %	Population Density Per Square Mile, 1980	Per-Capita Property Wealth, 1980**	1981 Full-Value Tax Rate %	Expenditures For Debt/Pensions %	Local Levy Increase, 1977-81 %	Per-Pupil Education Spending
Cities	- 4.1	5,513	\$11,495	4.78	13.7	13.8	\$2,411
Suburbs	+ 7.3	1,444	19,082	3.09	7.9	35.5	2,508
Towns	+ 22.6	290	18,971	2.56	6.0	44.7	2,259
Resorts	+ 52.6	278	83,777	1.39	6.7	43.3	2,814
Statewide average	+ 16.8	1,258	\$23,587	2.89	7.6	37.9	\$2,408

*A composite measure reflecting location, population density, and industrial/residential makeup. Towns are non-resorts outside the Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas; resorts are primarily coastal communities with high property wealth.

**Equalized property valuations per capita.

Sources: Massachusetts Departments of Revenue and Education, Massachusetts Taxpayers Foundation, and 1980 U.S. Census.

Table 2. First-Year Impact of Proposition 2½

Community Type	Total Revenue Loss Per Capita	Net Revenue Loss Per Capita*	Fiscal Year 1982 School Budget Cutbacks %	Fiscal Year 1982 Instructional Budget Cutbacks %	Reductions in Teacher Workforce %	Schools Closed %	Districts Instituting Service Fees %	Fiscal Year 1982 Administrative Budget Cutbacks %
Cities	-\$114.8	-\$67.7	-9.1	-10.0	-15.3	11.3	50	- 9.4
Suburbs	- 86.4	- 53.5	-5.7	- 6.2	-10.6	10.9	46	+ 4.7
Towns	- 57.3	- 15.4	-3.2	- 6.4	-10.1	7.6	23	- 1.3
Resorts	- 53.1	- 32.1	-2.7	+ .8	- 4.2	3.4	25	+ 14.8
Statewide average	-\$ 58.1	-\$35.4	-4.9	- 6.5	-10.8	8.8	37	+ .4

*After receiving the new state aid.

Sources: Massachusetts Association of School Committees Survey, Massachusetts Department of Education (all-local school districts only), Massachusetts Association of School Superintendents Survey, and Massachusetts Executive Office of Communities and Development.

population density (a characteristic often associated with high service costs), and declining populations (typically, because middle-class families are moving away).

For reasons that I have already mentioned, the relatively low property wealth of urban areas is particularly telling in Massachusetts. Boston, for example, draws on its property base for 80% of its own revenue (although the national average for large cities is only 35%) and for 64% of all of its operating funds. Massachusetts cities also have a larger proportion of their local budgets tied up in fixed expenditures. In the year before Proposition 2½, for instance, all but \$248 million of the \$878 million budget in Boston was targeted for fixed costs. Yet Boston had to absorb a revenue loss of \$97 million under Proposition 2½.¹⁹

Despite the cost factors associated with population density, Massachusetts cities were spending at per-capita and per-pupil levels that were close to the state average prior to Proposition 2½. Furthermore, local tax levies and spending levels in these cities had been increasing at slower-than-average rates in the years preceding the referendum — probably because of local

fiscal pressures. Yet the relatively low property wealth in these cities caused local tax rates to run consistently higher than the state norm. Thus the cities bore the brunt of revenue losses in the first year of Proposition 2½; per capita, they lost about twice the state average in local revenues during that period. Not surprisingly, bond sales for capital acquisition and reconstruction came to a virtual halt during fiscal year 1982, a cutback that, if sustained, will create particularly acute problems for the cities.

As Table 2 shows, cutbacks in spending for education were most substantial in urban areas of the state. The cities laid off a significantly higher proportion of their teachers and cut school budgets by a higher percentage than did other communities. (The cities also cut municipal budgets by a higher percentage.) More often than other communities, the cities made substantial reductions in their administrative and instructional budgets, cut down on the number of school bus routes, and instituted fees for school services. Although the cities tended to have declining pupil populations (and pupil/teacher ratios that were slightly lower than aver-

age), their teacher layoffs were nearly three times larger than their enrollment declines — a ratio significantly higher than the statewide average.

In sum, cities not only suffered the severest local revenue losses in the first year after the passage of Proposition 2½, but city school systems were the ones most drastically affected — even after new state aid was redistributed to local communities. City schools in Massachusetts serve large proportions of low-income and minority pupils; they also tend to send fewer graduates on to four-year colleges and universities. Thus the cutbacks (particularly in the area of instruction) hindered efforts to provide equal educational opportunity for all pupils in the state.

Projected Second-Year Effects

Though urban areas bore the brunt of 1982 revenue losses, they also are expected to bear nearly all the losses projected for fiscal year 1983. Of the 40 communities that have been required to reduce local tax levies by 15% in the second year of Proposition 2½, the vast majority are cities. And the amount of lost revenue is sub-

stantial, compounding problems that the cities encountered in the first year after passage of the referendum.

In recognition of the potentially devastating impact of these reductions — as well as of the inequitable distribution of state aid in fiscal year 1982 — Massachusetts added \$150 million in new aid to the state budget for fiscal year 1983. Intended to offset the approximately \$135 million in new revenue losses, this state aid was distributed to local communities according to a new equalizing formula.

The cities may have absorbed most of the projected dollar losses in fiscal year 1983, but they have also benefited the most from this new state aid (see Table 3). Nonetheless, the cities registered the largest projected *net* losses of revenue in 1983, adding to their severe losses of the previous year. In the traditional fashion of legislators, those in Massachusetts voted into the new aid package some funds for nearly every local community. This tempered the equalizing impact of this new state aid.

Educational Equity

By examining the impact of fiscal year 1982 budget cuts on school spending patterns statewide, we can better understand the effects of Proposition 2½ on educational equity. The actual effects will not be known until early 1983, when data on local expenditures become available. But diminished equity is the likely outcome, since communities characterized by low property wealth cut school appropriations more deeply than did high-wealth communities.

In order to compare fiscal year 1982 to previous years, I calculated projected expenditure figures for 1982 that distributed the projected net revenue losses (or gains) between municipal and school budgets in a ratio that matched the actual ratio of municipal spending to school spending in 1981. (Thus these projected 1982 expenditures are probably more favorable to education than the actual expenditures will be.) In addition, I added an increment to (or subtracted it from) the 1982 figures to reflect net revenue gains or losses in fiscal year 1983.

Table 4 presents three measures of educational equity for Massachusetts, covering the years 1978 through 1983 (projected). Two measures — the restricted range and the federal range ratio — represent the degree of disparity in per-pupil spending from state and local revenues only. The restricted range represents the dollar gap between high-spending and low-spending school districts, not including 5% of districts at each extreme of the spending scale. The federal range ratio converts this figure to one that allows

comparisons among states. The third measure, the correlation coefficient, measures the relationship between per-pupil spending and local property wealth per pupil (using the 1980 equalized property valuation).

Table 4 contains four findings that are noteworthy. First, passage of the new

state equalization formula in 1978 — in conjunction with a substantial increment in new state aid in fiscal year 1979 — sharply reduced disparities in spending for education. However, spending became somewhat more strongly linked to property wealth, probably because most of the new state aid was distributed through a

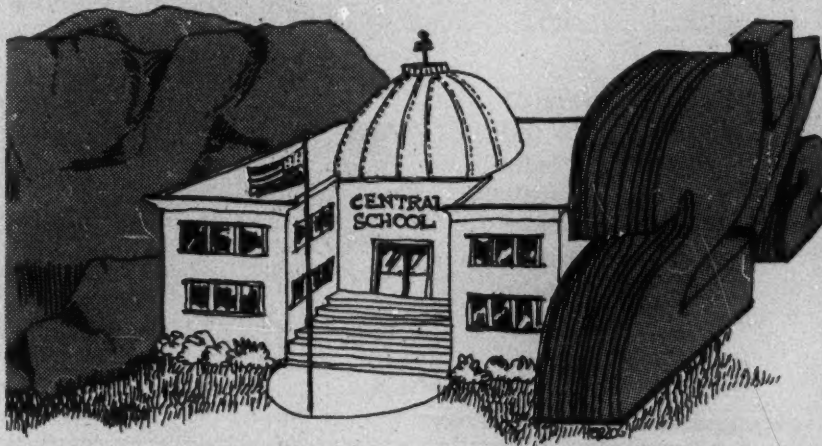


Table 3. Projected Second-Year Impact of Proposition 2½

Community Type	Average Local Revenue Loss	Average New State Aid	Average Net Revenue Gain/Loss
Cities	— \$4,355,212	\$3,170,272	— \$1,184,940
Suburbs	— 149,451	231,189	+ 81,738
Towns	— 27,645	54,030	+ 26,385
Resorts	— 284,700	241,300	— 43,400
Statewide average	— \$ 496,613	\$ 437,299	— \$ 59,314

Source: Massachusetts League of Women Voters.

Table 4. Educational Equity in Massachusetts, 1978-83

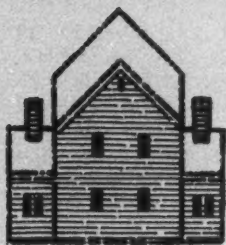
	Fiscal Year 1978	Fiscal Year 1979	Fiscal Year 1980	Fiscal Year 1981	Fiscal Year 1982 (Projected)	Fiscal Year 1983 (Projected)
Restricted Range*	\$1,204	\$1,058	\$1,162	\$1,462	\$1,438	\$1,349
Federal Range Ratio**	.24	.19	.17	.24	.20	.20
Correlation With Property Wealth†	.42	.44	.36	.32	.30	.30

*Dollar difference between the 95th and the fifth percentiles.

**Restricted range divided by the fifth percentile.

†Pearson correlation coefficient, 1980 equalized property valuation and per-pupil spending from state and local revenues.

Sources: Massachusetts Departments of Education and Revenue.



The supporters of Proposition 2½ may achieve short-term gains at the price of less governmental accountability and less citizen participation in decision making.

save-harmless clause before the equalizing formula could take effect.

Second, in 1981 — the year before Proposition 2½ took full effect — dollar disparities were at an all-time high. Third, projections for 1982 indicate very little change in educational equity, despite an influx of \$265 million in new state aid. (Using somewhat more reliable data for the 175 purely local school districts, inequity *increases* in fiscal year 1982.) Finally, my projections for 1983 suggest a modest shift in the direction of increased equity in the spending range, if my assumptions regarding municipal budgets prove accurate.

One might draw three tentative conclusions from school budget patterns after Proposition 2½. First, if no new state aid had been forthcoming, educational spending would have become *less* equitable. Second, the generation of substantial new aid in fiscal year 1982 largely failed to reduce existing inequities, because state funds were not distributed in an equalizing manner. Third, when state aid is distributed by an equalizing formula (fiscal year 1983), Proposition 2½ tends to equalize spending for education. These conclusions bear out my earlier statement: A taxpayers' revolt can have either an equalizing or a disequalizing effect on educational spending, depending on how the state government responds.

If my somewhat risky assumptions are borne out, the two-year impact of Proposition 2½ on educational equity in Massachusetts will be slight — leaving the state with a school finance system that remains highly inequitable, despite an influx of some \$400 million in new state aid to

local communities and a shift in revenue sources from the local to the state level. Thus Proposition 2½ will constitute a missed opportunity for equalizing the financing of schools. Not surprisingly — in light of a court challenge to the school finance system — the state commissioner of education is calling for a phasing out of the disequalizing save-harmless clause in the state aid formula. This action would free substantial revenues for equalization of educational spending.²⁰

My analysis of the first-year impact of Proposition 2½ in Massachusetts confirms a number of suspicions about the taxpayers' revolt. First, it is clear that the overall impact of a significant tax-limitation measure such as Proposition 2½ is inequitable. Cities bear more than their fair share of local revenue losses, an outcome that exacerbates the fiscal strains that many urban centers are already experiencing. If and when tax-limiting measures in other states (e.g., Proposition 13 in California) cut sharply into local revenues and these states fail to supply compensatory aid, it seems likely that cities will be hurt the most. Given the relatively low-income, largely minority, and service-dependent populations in many cities, the effects of these revenue losses will be borne primarily by those individuals least able to find suitable alternatives to government services and support. They face too the additional burdens imposed by cuts in federal funding.

Second, fiscal pressures at the local level in Massachusetts have triggered efficiency measures in local administrations and pressures for relief from the state. In both cases, those taxpayers who voted for Proposition 2½ may be obtaining what they wanted: greater local efficiency and local property-tax relief. But they are also likely to get greater centralization, both in local decision making and in the balance between state and local policy making. In short, supporters of Proposition 2½ may achieve short-term gains while paying long-term costs in the form of less governmental accountability and less citizen participation in decision making.

However, these conclusions rest on the assumption that Massachusetts will enact significant tax reform to distribute the tax burden more equitably across the entire population. The present political environment in Massachusetts makes any prediction about the passage of such tax reform highly speculative, although there are some indications of greater public willingness to consider a graduated income tax. In all likelihood, reform of this type will not take place until fiscal pressures at the state level become acute. But that condition may be imminent, given the pres-

sure from local government for increased state funding as a result of Proposition 2½, the fact that significant areas of state spending cannot be "level funded" forever, and the fact that federal grants to states and localities have been curtailed under President Reagan. Clearly, the taxpayers' revolt — in conjunction with Reagan's New Federalism — sharply increases the fiscal pressures on state government in Massachusetts.

1. E. Kathleen Adams, "The Fiscal Condition of the States," *Phi Delta Kappan*, May 1982, pp. 598-600.

2. *Ibid.*

3. Michael W. Kirst, "The New Politics of State Education Finance," *Phi Delta Kappan*, February 1979, pp. 427-32.

4. "Crisis," *Boston Globe*, 11 May 1981, p. 4.

5. Helen F. Ladd and Julie Boatright Wilson, "Proposition 2½: Explaining the Vote," mimeograph draft (Cambridge, Mass.: John F. Kennedy School of Government, October 1981).

6. Edward P. Morgan, "Public Education and the Taxpayers' Revolt: The Causes and Consequences of Proposition 2½ in Massachusetts," paper presented at the annual conference of the American Educational Finance Association, Philadelphia, March 1982.

7. *Revenues, Expenditures, and Tax Burdens: A Comparison of the Fifty States*, Working Paper No. 35 (Denver: Education Commission of the States, April 1981).

8. These data came primarily from the Massachusetts Association of School Committees, the Massachusetts Association of School Superintendents, the Massachusetts Department of Education, the Massachusetts Department of Revenue, the Massachusetts Taxpayers Foundation, and the Massachusetts Municipal Association. Two impact studies were distributed publicly: *Report on the Impact of Proposition 2½*, by the Massachusetts Municipal Association, and *The Impact of Proposition 2½ on the Public Schools*, by the Massachusetts Association of School Committees. In addition, a biweekly newsletter, *Impact: 2½*, published by a consortium at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, has provided broad coverage of the statewide impact of this measure. The case studies by this consortium are particularly noteworthy.

9. See *Impact: 2½*, particularly Cynthia Horan, "The Budget Process in 13 Case Study Communities," 15 February 1982, and Rebecca R. W. Black, "2½ and Public Sector Labor Relations," 15 June 1982.

10. *The Impact of Proposition 2½ on the Public Schools* (Boston: Massachusetts Association of School Committees, April 1982).

11. The budget for fiscal year 1982 was 6% higher than the previous year because of growth in state revenues, not because of new taxes. Available state aid came in part from substantial layoffs of state employees and level funding of several state programs.

12. *Report on the Impact of Proposition 2½* (Boston: Massachusetts Municipal Association, January 1982).

13. *Impact: 2½*, 1 May 1982.

14. *Impact: 2½*, 1 March 1982.

15. *Impact: 2½*, Springfield case study, 15 July 1982.

16. *Impact: 2½*, 1 April 1982, p. 4.

17. The survey from which I drew these conclusions was conducted by Urban Research Associates of Boston and was reported in *Impact: 2½* on 15 May 1982.

18. These conclusions are based on correlation and multiple regression analysis. See Morgan, "Public Education and the Taxpayers' Revolt. . . ."

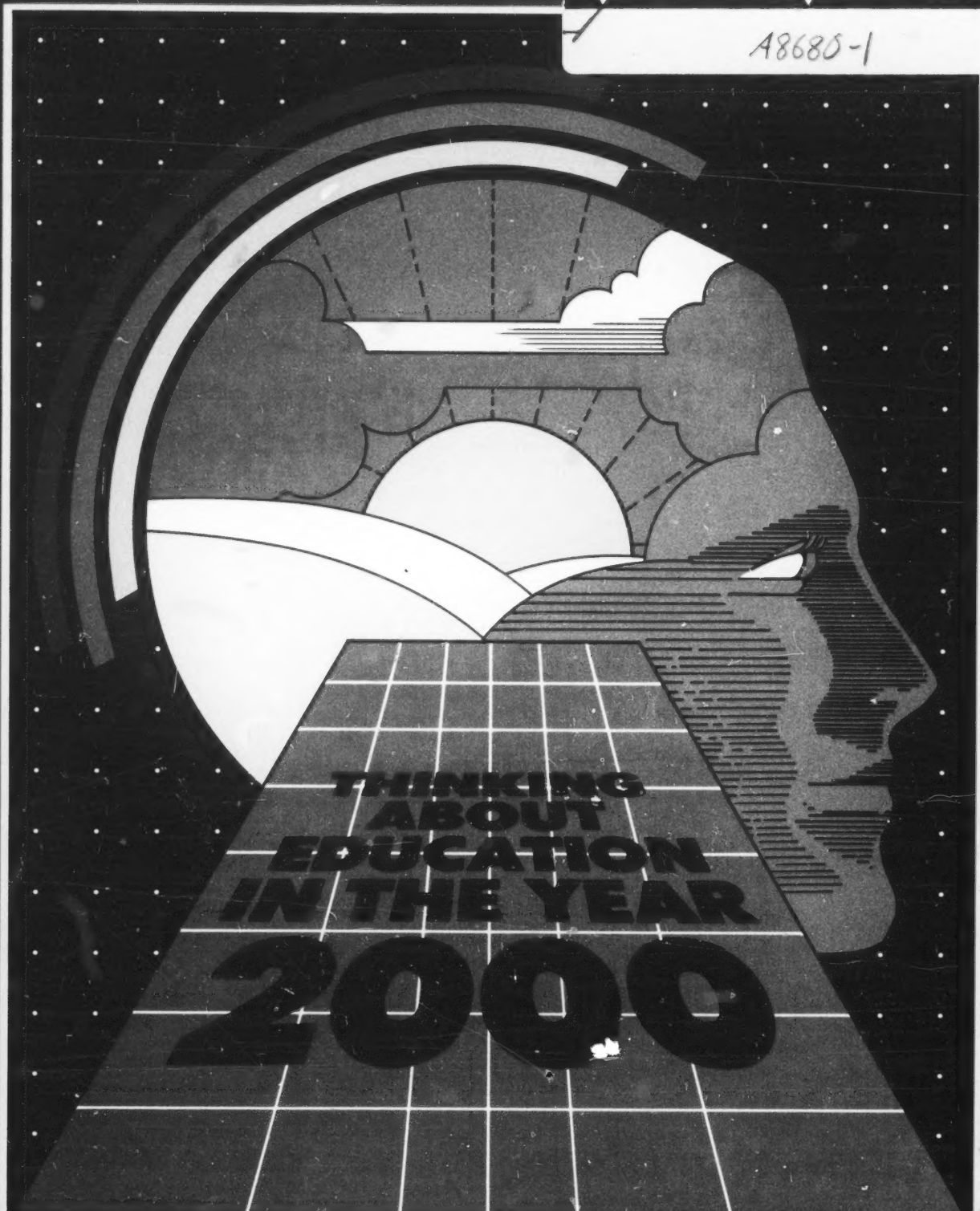
19. "Crisis," *Boston Globe*, p. 6.

20. *Impact: 2½*, 15 July 1982, p. 2. □

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**THINKING
ABOUT
EDUCATION
IN THE YEAR**

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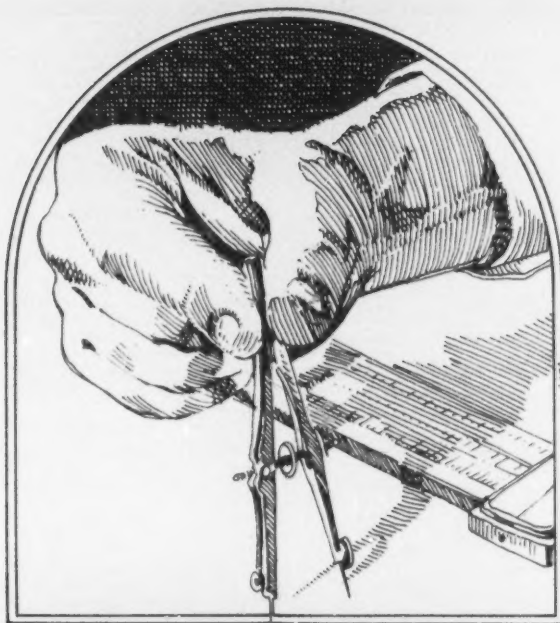
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A PERSPECTIVE ON VOCATIONAL EDUCATION TODAY

by Gene Bottoms and Patricia Copa

No area of education is more complex, and none has changed as greatly as vocational education has in the past two decades, claim the authors. They detail the nature of vocational education and make clear its all-important role in solving the dismal problems now confronting the workplace.

No aspect of U.S. education is less well understood than vocational education. It is easy to see why. No area of education is more complex, and none has changed as substantially as vocational education has over the past two decades. Consider these facts:

- During the past 20 years the number of Americans participating in vocational education has grown dramatically. In 1965 one American in 37 was enrolled in

these programs. By 1979-80 the ratio had risen to one in every 17.¹

- The growth in enrollments has reflected job opportunities (Table 1). Between 1965 and 1980 enrollments in vocational agriculture remained constant, while enrollments in such specialties as trade and industry, office occupations, health occupations, and technical programs expanded enormously.

- Institutions offering comprehensive programs of vocational education have nearly tripled.² In 1965 some 1,130 institutions offered vocational education. In 1977 (the last year in which a survey was conducted), the number of institutions had grown to more than 3,200.

Yet these indices of growth do not tell the complete story. Program categories within vocational education have also

grown, from just 100 in 1965 to more than 400 today. For example, vocational agriculture expanded to include related business programs. Other vocational fields added new program categories in similar fashion.

In light of these and other significant facts documenting changes in vocational education, it is not surprising that many people do not understand the nature and comprehensiveness of vocational programs. Vocational educators who seek to establish stronger vocational programs as a potential solution to specific national problems must constantly address this lack of knowledge.

Crisis in the Workplace

Reports on radio and television, in the daily newspapers, and in the weekly news magazines continually build the case for stronger, better, and more vocational education.³ For example, U.S. unemployment has now topped 10% — the highest level in more than 40 years. Because of major structural changes in the economy, many old jobs are gone forever. Thus

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unemployed workers must be encouraged to prepare themselves for new job opportunities in such fields as the communications, electronics, and information industries, which have jobs available but too few people qualified to fill them. The growing use of computers and other technological innovations in the workplace is creating an enormous gap between workers' knowledge and employers' demands.

At the same time, the U.S. workforce itself is changing dramatically. Fewer youths are available for employment today, but the numbers of workers between the ages of 25 and 45 and over age 65 are swelling.

This is truly a time of change and crisis in the U.S. workplace. In such times, America has always looked to its educational system to prepare individuals to meet the challenge. Today's crisis in the workplace calls for changes in education as dramatic as the changes that Sputnik ushered in a quarter century ago.

At the grassroots level, Americans understand that these changes must occur. All recent Gallup Polls of public attitudes toward public education confirm this. In the latest survey, choosing from among 19 possible changes in the curriculum, respondents gave top priority to: 1) more emphasis on the basics, 2) more practical instruction, and 3) more vocational classes.⁴ These findings are consistent with those of the preceding 13 polls.

The Gallup Polls drive home the fact that Americans see a close tie between the basics and vocational education; practicality is the link that connects the two. In essence, then, a growing number of citizens have already broadened their notion of the basics to include vocational education.

To fully understand the system of vocational education, one must be able to answer seven questions: Whom does vocational education serve? Where is it offered? What is the nature of its programs?

What instructional approaches does it employ? What is the role of federal funding? How accessible are vocational programs? And what do we know about the effectiveness of vocational education?

The clientele. Vocational education today serves 16.5 million Americans, who represent a cross section of U.S. society in terms of age, race, sex, academic ability, socioeconomic level, and goals.

- Slightly more than 10 million vocational education students are 18 years of age or younger and still attending school; another 6.5 million are young and older adults. The average age of vocational students enrolled in postsecondary programs is 29.

- Minority students make up 24% of the total enrollment in vocational education — about 4% more than we would predict from their proportion in the general population.

- Among all students in vocational education programs, 51.6% are female and 48.4% are male.

- More than 400,000 vocational education students have handicaps, and most of these students are mainstreamed into regular programs.

- Although the mean reading and math scores of high school seniors enrolled in concentrated vocational education programs are significantly lower than those of college-bound seniors, the scores of 65% of the students in vocational programs are in the same range as the scores of their college-bound counterparts.

- According to a 1972 study by the Office of Education, 30% of vocational education students come from the lowest socioeconomic group and 12% come from the highest.

- Of the students enrolled in postsecondary vocational programs, approximately 25% have previously been enrolled in college or other postsecondary educational programs.

Location of programs. More than

Today's crisis in the workplace calls for changes in education as dramatic as those that Sputnik brought.

19,000 public institutions in the U.S. today offer vocational education programs. Some of these institutions are secondary, and some are postsecondary. They are administered under a variety of local governance structures and arrangements. See Table 2 for a list of the types of institutions providing vocational education and the number of institutions in each category.

The nature of vocational programs. Vocational education programs can be classified into two broad categories: general and occupationally specific. General vocational education programs are designed to provide a foundation for career decisions, to develop the prerequisite skills to master an occupational area, and to develop the generic skills useful both in work and in everyday life. There are five kinds of general vocational education programs:

- Consumer/homemaking programs. More than 3.3 million people are enrolled in these programs, which have as their focus the improvement of family life through the development of decision-making, interpersonal, and technical skills.

- Pre-vocational programs. These are designed to introduce participants to broad vocational areas and to the tools, materials, and processes used in each. Industrial arts, vocational agriculture, and business are examples of such programs.

- Pre-vocational basic skills programs. These provide the requisite training to prepare students to enter occupationally specific programs.

- Related instruction. These programs offer the instruction in occupational content and in science, mathematics, and communication skills that is required for a particular job or group of jobs.

- Employability skills programs. Usually cooperative in nature, these programs are designed to teach on-the-job discipline and such generic work skills as interpersonal relations and communication.

The occupationally specific vocational programs, by contrast, have as their primary focus instruction in content and skills that are necessary for employment in a specific job or occupational area. These programs can be grouped into four distinct types:

- Occupational-cluster programs.

Table 1. Changes in Enrollments in Vocational Education Programs, 1965 to 1980

Vocational Education Program	1965 Enrollment	1980 Enrollment
Agriculture	887,000	878,529
Distributive education	333,000	961,018
Health occupations	67,000	834,296
Consumer/homemaking	2,098,000	3,385,736
Occupational home economics	0	551,862
Office occupations	731,000	3,400,057
Technical	226,000	499,305
Trade and industry	1,088,000	3,215,987
Total	5,430,000	13,726,790

Sources: *Vocational and Technical Education Annual Report, FY 1965* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Office of Education, 1965); and *Vocational Education Data System* (Washington, D.C.: National Center for Education Statistics, 1982).

These prepare students for a cluster of occupations, such as agribusiness, construction, the metal trades, or office work. This is the kind of vocational program most commonly offered in comprehensive high schools.

- Occupationally specific programs. These are designed to prepare students for employment in a particular occupation,

such as computer programming, auto mechanics, electronics, or practical nursing.

- Job-specific programs. These are designed to increase students' potential for employment in a particular, narrowly defined job, such as lathe operator, typist, or front-end alignment specialist.

- Employer-specific programs. These are designed to better prepare participants

Vocational educators draw their standards from the expectations and requirements of the workplace. Thus program success is directly related to the extent of community involvement.

Table 2. Types of Institutions Offering Vocational Education

Institutional Type	Characteristics	Number
General high school	Usually offers two or three vocational courses, typically in the areas of business and office, agriculture, industrial arts, consumer and homemaking	10,851
Comprehensive high school	A general school offering programs in at least six different vocational subjects (although the majority of students are not enrolled in vocational education programs)	4,878
Vocational high school	A specialized secondary school offering a full-time program that combines academic and vocational subjects; all or a majority of the students are enrolled in vocational education programs	225
Area vocational center, secondary	A shared-time facility that provides only vocational education instruction to students from throughout a school system or region; these students study academic courses in their regular high schools or in other institutions	1,395
Area vocational school, postsecondary	A non-degree-granting institution (or an institution offering a degree that is not recognized by the regional accrediting commission for higher education), which offers instruction only in vocational and technical subjects and whose educational programs are terminal	504
Community college	A two-year, postsecondary, degree-granting institution (that may also award certificates and licenses), which offers a comprehensive instructional program in both general and vocational/technical education and a transfer program to institutions of higher education	720
Technical institution	A two-year, postsecondary, degree-granting institution, which offers instruction primarily in vocational and technical programs that are focused on immediate job placement	162
Specialized postsecondary school	Usually offers specialized preparation in one occupational area	308
Four-year institution offering two-year programs	A four-year college or university offering two-year degree programs in vocational or technical areas	185
Skill center	Usually a separate institution that specializes in providing vocational education to economically disadvantaged students	70
Total		19,298

for a particular job with a particular employer. Participants are generally employed already, and these programs are usually conducted by community colleges or vocational/technical schools. Such programs are likely to increase rapidly in number, because of changing technology in the workplace.

Instructional approaches. Vocational educators draw their standards from the expectations and requirements of the workplace. For this reason, the success of a vocational program — be it secondary or postsecondary — is directly related to the extent of its involvement with the community. The largest and most active system of advisory councils in education helps vocational education programs maintain strong links to the workplace. The National Advisory Council for Vocational Education estimates that there are 26,000 advisory committees, involving at least 330,000 persons (often representing labor and government, as well as business and industry), who assist vocational educators in planning and carrying out their programs.

These councils advise on curriculum content and equipment requirements. They keep vocational educators attuned to changing requirements within given occupational areas. Members of advisory councils often help to provide instruction, either by opening their businesses and industries to students or by participating in staff exchanges between education and industry.

Various cooperative arrangements with business and industry are a vital part of the instructional approach in vocational education. Cooperative education programs, which served 596,000 students in 1980, provide a formal structure for relating in-school learning to work experiences. Students combine classroom and on-the-job instruction, under the close supervision of a qualified coordinator. Cooperative education programs are so successful that fully half of their enrollees

remain after graduation in full-time positions with their cooperative education employers.

Vocational education also provides clinical experience for students preparing for jobs in the health occupations and other human services. Some 350,000 students participate each year in some type of clinical experience as part of their vocational education programs.

In addition, vocational education provides related instruction for approximately 75% of all participants in apprenticeship programs. This instruction is generally closely associated with on-the-job training that the worker is engaged in as preparation for qualifying as a journeyman.

Each of these instructional approaches carefully balances classroom and on-the-job experiences, weaving them into a structured, progressive, and well-supervised program for those who seek specific job skills. A recent study demonstrated the inappropriateness of excessive hours on the job without instruction and supervision; the researchers found that working more than 20 hours per week had a detrimental effect on the grades and school attendance of high school students.⁵ Vocational educators would agree that unsupervised and unplanned work experience yields limited educational returns, in terms of enhancing an individual's school achievement or later work performance.

Another unique dimension of the vocational education instructional program is its emphasis on student participation in vocational organizations. Vocational educators consider these organizations to be an integral part of the curriculum. More than 1.7 million students are currently involved in such organizations through more than 54,000 chapters. The development of leadership skills is the primary objective of these youth groups. Their programs motivate students through recognition, competition, and incentives. Activities correlate with instruction. Since these organizations generate wide support from parents, business, industry, and organized labor, they further strengthen the vital link between vocational education and the community.

The role of federal funding. Vocational

education programs depend on a combination of federal, state, and local funds for their existence. Advocates of the New Federalism claim that the federal contribution, since it represents only a small portion of the total funding, is unimportant and could be made up by state and local governments. But vocational educators view such a change as potentially devastating to the partnership on which vocational education has been built.

Federal funds have served through the years as a catalyst for innovation and change in vocational education. The loss of federal resources would bring damaging cutbacks in those activities that make it possible for vocational education programs to keep abreast of changing requirements in the workplace — including the upgrading of teachers, the replacing of outmoded equipment, the updating of curricula, and the developing of new programs. The momentum toward providing educational equity would also suffer, because many of the activities that have brought progress in this area have been supported by federal funds. Finally, without federal funds it would be impossible to expand vocational education programs in those economically depressed areas that lack sufficient resources of their own to meet these needs.

It is important to understand fully the economic base upon which most of the progress of vocational education has been built. In addition to the support provided through the Vocational Education Act, vocational programs have been nourished by a wide range of other federal initiatives — all of which are now in jeopardy. These include (but are not limited to) the Appalachian Regional Development, the Public Works and Economic Development Acts of 1965, the Tennessee Valley Authority, and the Rural Development Act. When support from these programs is considered, about 20% of all funding for secondary vocational education programs and 16% of all funding for postsecondary and adult programs come from federal funds.

The damaging effects of a decade of decline — in constant dollars — in the

The loss of federal resources would bring damaging cutbacks in those activities that make it possible for vocational education to keep abreast of the changing workplace.

federal investment in vocational education are already apparent. The federal support per vocational education student today (\$19) is roughly half what it was in 1972 (\$35). State and local funds, which have remained constant throughout the decade, have not made up for these losses.

Yet federal expectations, unlike federal support, have continued to increase. In 1976 the reauthorized vocational education legislation specified six areas of priority, compared with only two in the original Smith-Hughes Act. Vocational education cannot carry out this mandate under the current funding structure. The National Institute of Education concluded from its 1980 study of vocational education that the current legislation "attempts to accomplish too much with too few resources."⁶

If vocational education is to meet the continually changing needs of the workforce, leaders at all levels of government must seriously consider the issue of funding. Expenditures to keep programs current are not a luxury; they are a necessity, if the U.S. intends to enable its citizens to participate effectively in an increasingly complex economic system.

The accessibility of vocational education. Although vocational programs are available in schools attended by more than 98% of all high school seniors, the capacity of such programs is limited in many areas. As Table 3 shows, only three million of the 15 million U.S. high school students have access to intensive, occupationally specific programs.⁷ In New York City alone, despite a large number of existing programs, approximately 12,000 students who applied to vocational schools in 1979 had to be turned away because of lack of space. In a survey of American Vocational Association members in 1979, more than half of the respondents indicated that at least some students had to be turned away because of space, equipment, or teacher shortages.

At present, there is an inadequate

Table 3. Current Enrollments by Program Type, 1979-80

Program	Secondary Enrollment	Postsecondary and Adult Enrollment
General	7,169,624	3,303,874
Occupationally specific	2,912,534	3,066,974

Source: *Vocational Education Data System* (Washington, D.C.: National Center for Education Statistics, 1982).

Participation in vocational education is associated with higher levels of employment. Most vocational students obtain jobs in the areas in which they were prepared.

number of training stations in larger cities, where high costs of land and construction mean that available dollars do not go as far in addressing shortages. Some evidence suggests that the growing dropout rate in cities may be linked to a failure to provide sufficient access to vocational programs.⁸

The 1976 amendments to the Vocational Education Act extend the emphasis on access to include imbalances of enrollment by sex in different programs, and each state received funding for a sex-equity coordinator. Some progress has been made since then. Enrollment data for 1979-80 showed that the percentage of female students in such traditionally male fields as agriculture and trade and technical programs was rising. At the same time, more males were enrolled in such traditionally female programs as office occupations, health, and consumer and homemaking programs.

A greater effort must be made to attract both minorities and women to programs that prepare students for higher-paying occupations. However, it is important to note that many of the problems related to equity in vocational education are actually rooted in traditions and practices of the larger society.

The effectiveness of vocational education. Diversity within vocational education makes homogeneous outcomes impossible. Job placement and employer satisfaction are important measures of the effectiveness of occupationally specific programs. However, they are inappropriate measures for evaluating the effectiveness of other kinds of programs. Moreover, evaluations of effectiveness must focus separately on secondary programs and on postsecondary programs, because their goals and clientele differ markedly.

Most participants in vocational education at the secondary level either go on to employment in a related field or continue their education, according to the National Center for Education Statistics (NCES). A 1979-80 study showed that 71.3% of vocational education graduates had found related employment or were engaged in further education; another 18% were employed in other areas or were serving in the military. The unemployment rate was only 10%, compared with 16.5% for members of the general population in this same age group.⁹

Much research on the effects of secondary vocational education has been less conclusive than the NCES study, because researchers have made little effort to identify and control the type and amount of vocational coursework involved. They have tended to rely instead on students' own reports or on the opinions of administrators to determine who is or is not a vocational student.

One reliable study, recently completed by the National Center for Research in Vocational Education, sought to address this problem.¹⁰ In this longitudinal study of more than 12,000 youngsters between the ages of 14 and 21, the researchers obtained data through personal interviews and reviews of high school transcripts. Thus they were able to determine precisely the types and levels of participation in vocational courses. They found that "concentrators" — students who took an average of six vocational credits over a three-year period — were more likely than incidental or nonparticipants to be in the workforce after graduation and to be in higher-paying, training-related jobs.

NCES data also show that 83% of those who completed postsecondary vocational programs and 89% of those who completed adult vocational programs were in the workforce. An additional 14% of postsecondary program graduates and 7% of adult program graduates were pursuing additional education. The unemployment rates for these graduates were only 5% and 7% respectively.

Although research on the effects of postsecondary vocational education has been limited, available data indicate that the outcomes are extremely positive with respect to job placement and participants' satisfaction. Donna Mertens and her colleagues reviewed 77 regional, state, and local studies of the effects of postsecondary vocational education.¹¹ They concluded that participation in vocational education was associated with higher levels of employment. Most vocational students obtained jobs in the areas in which they were prepared, suggesting that these jobs required specialized preparation. In addition, an abundance of evidence showed that employers were satisfied with vocational graduates and that these graduates were satisfied with their jobs.

Charges that the effects of vocational education are only short-term do not hold up in the light of recent research. A 1980 study by John Fredland and Roger Little examined the effects of vocational education on earnings 35 years after graduation.¹² Their sample was drawn from National Longitudinal Study data on mid-career white male workers who received vocational preparation in the military during World War II and later vocational preparation as civilians. The results showed that those who used their vocational preparation received significant benefits in long-term earnings.

Using 1970 census data, Wen Lang Li found in 1980 that secondary vocational education had a positive effect on the future earnings and success of participants, when they were compared with a similar group of nonparticipants.¹³ He

Students from vocational programs found their education more relevant in terms of job expectations than did students in other curricula, and they enjoyed more job satisfaction.

found that the labor force participation of vocational students was nearly 10% higher than that of nonvocational students. The vocational students also had earnings 13% higher than those of nonvocational students.

Employers' attitudes toward vocational education. Numerous studies have shown that employers are satisfied with the performance of vocational graduates and prefer them as workers. In 1980, for example, the U.S. Chamber of Commerce surveyed a national sample of personnel directors. An overwhelming 78% of them said that specific occupational preparation made workers more employable.¹⁴

A recent survey of members of the National Association of Manufacturers showed that employers want more from high schools than young people who can read, write, and work independently.¹⁵ Nearly three-fourths of the respondents (73%) thought that high schools should teach specific occupational skills as well as generic work skills.

Student views of program effectiveness. Students also perceive vocational education as a positive part of their education and a valuable asset in their lives after graduation. The National Longitudinal Study of the High School Class of 1972 found that most vocational graduates felt that their preparation had been important in landing their first jobs. Students from vocational programs found their education more relevant in terms of job expectations than did students in other curricula. Moreover, vocational graduates seemed more satisfied with their jobs than graduates of other curricula.¹⁶

Other measures of effectiveness. The impact of vocational education is not measured only by success on the job. Vocational education gives youths an alternative approach to learning. This approach enables them to apply a range of classroom-acquired knowledge and skills

in the performance of real-life tasks. This link between the classroom and the world beyond it makes school meaningful for many youngsters. Some evidence suggests that the availability of vocational education programs at the secondary level has kept some students from dropping out. Deborah Perlmuter concluded from her 1982 study that any type of occupational or practical arts program appears to increase retention rates.¹⁷ A recent national study also supports the idea that vocational education keeps potential high school dropouts in school.¹⁸

Many critics argue that secondary vocational education precludes further education. Yet a study by Paul Campbell and colleagues in 1982 shows that 56.3% of the secondary vocational students identified as concentrators engage in further preparation beyond high school.¹⁹ Meanwhile, John Grasso and John Shea, in their analysis of data from the National Longitudinal Study, found that vocational students were as likely as their general education counterparts to go on for postsecondary education.²⁰

This education is likely to be quite diverse. According to Campbell's data, 19% of the vocational students go on to four-year colleges, 17% attend two-year colleges, and 21% go into apprenticeship and other training programs. This would suggest that, rather than foreclosing options, secondary vocational education broadens the range of opportunities that youths consider in light of their own goals, abilities, and values.

In testimony at congressional hearings and in a recent publication, University of Minnesota researchers George Copa and Gary Forsberg stressed the broad range of outcomes that were likely to result from vocational education experiences.²¹ They listed as important outcomes such attributes as increased self-confidence and control, creative expression, integrity, basic skills, leadership, a more positive at-

titude toward school, and greater competence in specific skills.

Despite the fact that vocational education has changed dramatically in both nature and size over the past two decades, the changes have not been substantial enough to meet today's needs and those of the decade ahead. The dismal problems of the U.S. workplace cannot be rationalized away as temporary setbacks that will disappear "when things get better." Data from a recent Department of Labor study attest to the gravity of the situation:²²

- Even though unemployment is growing, the U.S. is also experiencing severe shortages of advanced-level and technical skilled workers.

- The U.S. fell from second to seventh in the percentage of skilled workers in the labor force; the U.S. share of skilled workers dropped from 29% to 26%.

- The U.S. is moving from being a net exporter to becoming a net importer in major categories of industrial output; market losses have been experienced in all 17 of the top export commodities.

The weakening of the U.S. economy will inevitably bring a lower standard of living for citizens. Those who are not prepared to meet the demands of a rapidly changing workplace will be particularly hard hit. We must provide opportunities for these individuals to acquire the knowledge and skills they need to secure employment in new technological fields and in areas requiring advanced skills.

For the 25% of all youths who do not finish high school and the approximately 50% who do finish but do not go on for further education, it is crucial that intensive vocational preparation be accessible at the secondary level. (The high school dropout rate is an alarming 50% today in some areas.) In addition to specialized vocational institutions, we



"She told me to clean out my desk, so I assumed I was fired."

need truly *comprehensive* high schools. At the present time, curricular choices in comprehensive high schools are too narrow, and the vocational experiences that such schools offer are often not intensive.

It is equally important that adults and older workers have opportunities to prepare or retrain for meaningful roles in the changing economic system. In particular, access to programs must be assured for employed workers whose employers lack the resources to offer retraining and job-upgrading experiences. Millions of adults will have to acquire new skills in order to hold jobs in the future. Meanwhile, changing retirement policies and the erosion of pension benefits have encouraged many older adults to seek educational opportunities that allow them to remain active in the workplace. There are few vocational programs designed to meet these needs.

For some students, access to programs will not be enough. Special situations — such as dependent children, illiteracy, low income, or physical or mental handicaps — make it difficult or impossible for them to pursue programs to completion. These disadvantages are often more prevalent among ethnic minorities and the young. As we plan for the future, we should bear in mind that minority youths will make up 20% of the U.S. workforce by the year 2000. Other nations attempt to compensate for discrimination in the job market by equipping potential victims with high levels of skill. Vocational education needs special federal support to strengthen its response to hard-to-reach youngsters and adults with special needs.

However, greater accessibility will not necessarily mean better programs, unless provisions are made to insure intensity, an interdisciplinary approach, and excellence in vocational education.

• **Intensity.** The U.S. must provide the means to prepare *advanced* workers. Some people, at least, must have access to extensive, long-term vocational programs that take place during the last two years of high school and the first two years of postsecondary education. Continuous on-the-job experience must be an integral part of such programs. Employers must be active participants in planning and implementing these programs.

• **An interdisciplinary approach.** The overall quality of education might be enhanced if the artificial barriers between basic and applied disciplines were dismantled and if the organizational patterns linking the teaching of mathematics, science, and communication to vocational areas were redefined. The existing structures tend to create a relatively harmonious experience for college-bound students, but this is seldom true for vocational students. The core components of

Vocational education needs special federal support to strengthen its response to hard-to-reach youths and adults with special needs.

vocational programs — mathematics, science, communication, and technical courses — must be related to and integrated into the rest of vocational instruction. Certain vocational disciplines might also be integrated in response to the increasing complexity of the workplace. For example, the mechanical trades and the electrical trades might find a more formal partnership mutually beneficial.

• **Excellence.** The goal of excellence must be pursued with as much vigor in vocational education as in other areas. Many vocational students at the secondary and postsecondary levels have not been served well by the instruction they have received in mathematics, science, and communication. A common practice has been to lower standards for vocational students by diluting and decelerating the content of the college-preparatory curriculum. However, some of the high-quality specialized vocational high schools and postsecondary centers have proved that vocational students are able to master advanced mathematics and the principles of physics, chemistry, and biology, when these are taught in the context of goals that are meaningful to them.

More than half of all industrial inventions come from those who are in the workforce. Skilled workers can contribute much to the productivity of the U.S., if they are given the requisite scientific and technological literacy not only to *do*, but also to understand *why*, and if they are given the ability to communicate such information.

Finally, to insure true excellence, vocational education must maintain its breadth as well as increase its depth. Today's changes in the workplace will have far-reaching implications. Students must be helped to look broadly and critically at the ways technology and work-related changes affect their lives, their families, and their communities. By adopting such a view, they will be able to determine thoughtfully the roles they wish to play in the total process, the skills and knowledge they will have to acquire, and the alternatives they might initiate to insure a more just and humane system.

1. The 1965 data come from *Vocational and Technical Education Annual Report, FY 1965* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Office of Education, 1965). All recent data, except where I have noted otherwise, come from *Vocational Education Data System* (Washington, D.C.: National Center for Education Statistics, 1982).
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18. Donna M. Mertens, Patricia Seitz, and Sterling Cox, *Vocational Education and the High School Dropout* (Columbus, O.: National Center for Research in Vocational Education, Ohio State University, forthcoming).
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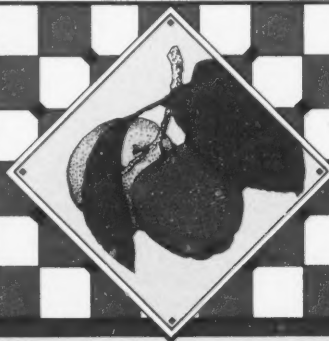
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HOME SCHOOLING:

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EDUCATION



JOHN HOLT/DIANE DIVOKY

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STUDIES OF SCHOOLING



Learning from Past Efforts to Reform the High School

by Thomas James and David Tyack

Another wave of studies of the high school appears to be upon us. Messrs. James and Tyack tell us that the giving of advice to save the schools has a long tradition. Recommendations for reform are not empty rhetoric, they maintain.

People who work in high schools have never lacked advice about how to do their jobs better. Lately, high school reform has become a growth industry, while other parts of the educational enterprise seem to be declining. In the last year we have heard of some three dozen studies of secondary education taking place across the U.S. Although the number and variety of these studies may reveal new fragmentation in educational purposes and constituencies, the giving of advice to

save the schools has a long tradition behind it.

We can appreciate the skepticism of many seasoned educators about whether a new generation of reports will produce fundamental change. Writing in the *Kaplan* last October, Larry Cuban argued convincingly that patterns of classroom instruction have changed little despite the plethora of conflicting reforms that have been advocated over the years.¹ It is easy to find discerning analyses that have gathered dust on library shelves, utopian calls to remake society through better education, and efforts at consensus that themselves became the targets of reform in the next generation. Does this mean

that it is time to dismiss recommendations for reform as empty rhetoric — mere swings of the ideological pendulum while the real business of schooling remains unchanged?

We think not, for two reasons. First, enormous changes have taken place over the past century in the American political economy, in the scope and social purpose of the high school, in the clientele it has served, in its finance and governance, in the complexity of its bureaucratic structure, and in its links with the later careers of high school graduates. Second, the reports advocating high school reform have typically served to interpret for the general public and for educators the

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educational implications of such changes in the society and in the schools. Think of these reports as position papers in the continuing debate over the interactive principles of liberty, equality, and efficiency in a rapidly changing society. Such a perspective forces the observer to take a step back from the particulars of the individual reports, their prescriptions and descriptions, and to ask questions, the answers to which aid in understanding educational responses to social change. Who are the writers of the reports, and what are their interests? What are the political and economic contexts within which they are working? What new conceptions of the educational process animate educators? What concerns agitate the public? In short, what aspirations and anxieties underlie the reports?

To treat reform in this manner goes beyond asking what should be done about the problem of the high school in any particular era. We ask instead why secondary education periodically has been considered a problem in the first place and what underlying tensions were generating policy issues. One feature of reform quickly becomes apparent under such scrutiny. Certain positions, certain familiar diagnoses and prescriptions, ebb and flow like the tides: mental discipline and life experience, excellence and equality, professional autonomy and popular participation, to name only a few. Now that the tide of reform rises anew, what can we learn today from past efforts to change secondary schools?

Before examining some of the historic reform efforts and relating them to recurrent policy dilemmas, let us first look briefly at how the high school has changed since the 19th century. The most striking feature of American secondary education, the characteristic that most sharply distinguishes it from secondary education in many other nations, is its rapid growth into a nearly universal institution. From 1890 to 1978 the total enrollments in public and private secondary schools rose from 359,949 to 15,654,000. During that same span of time the percentage of 14- to 17-year-olds who were attending school grew from 6.7 to 94.1, and the retention rates of schools paralleled this increase. Following another trajectory, we find that, whereas in 1890 only 3.5% of all 17-year-olds in the U.S. graduated from high school, by 1970 that figure had risen to 75.6% of all 17-year-olds. Clearly, high school has become a major socializing institution for American adolescents; the median years of formal schooling increased from 8.6 to 12.2 for the entire U.S. population between 1940 and 1970.²

Table 1 displays these increases side by

side. But we must add another dimension — money — to understand the full extent of educational expansion. Although the number of school districts shrank from 127,531 in 1932 to 17,995 in 1970 and the total number of secondary schools remained constant at just above 29,000 institutions, the figures on school expenditures tell a different story. Between 1920 and 1970 the yearly per-capita expenditures for public elementary and secondary education combined rose from \$20 to \$200 in constant 1970 dollars. The yearly expenditures per pupil in average daily attendance climbed from \$127 to \$955 (again figured in constant 1970 dollars) during the same half-century.³

Two important reasons, one demographic and one economic, explain this dramatic expansion of secondary education. The post-war baby boom, a generation that has now passed through high school, obscures a long-term demographic trend that fostered greater high school attendance prior to 1940. Between 1840 and 1940 the number of live births per thousand in the population fell from 51.8 to 19.4, and, after soaring for a few years following World War II, the rate continued its decline. By 1970 it was 18.4 per thousand. Fewer children per family and a wider spacing of their births made it easier for parents to support their children for more years in school and to defer the children's earnings. A related economic factor was a rapidly rising gross national product (GNP) and an increasing share of that wealth devoted to public education. More and more communities found it financially possible to create local high schools.⁴

Fewer children per family and more wealth per capita were necessary but not sufficient conditions for the popularity of the high school. Two other related factors provided incentives for high school at-

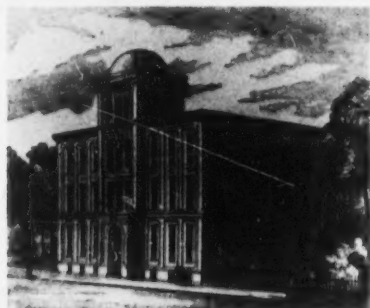
tendance. One was the gradual disappearance of a strong demand in the labor market for teenagers as full-time employees. The second was that parents, employers, and youths themselves began to believe that secondary schooling counted in obtaining a good job. Of course, the vocational boost given by the high school differed invidiously by gender, race, and class. For boys from prosperous families, the academic course led to college, which in turn was becoming increasingly important as the gateway to prestigious careers. Girls, who have made up the majority of students in high schools in every epoch on record, often entered lower-status but respectable white-collar jobs after taking the commercial course. Some working-class youths gained job skills in the vocational tracks. So thoroughly had the public accepted the notion of vocational preparation in high school that, when George Gallup included in his 1972 poll on attitudes toward education an open-ended question on why respondents wanted their children to be educated, the top-ranked reply was "to get better jobs" and the third-ranked response was "to make money."⁵

Preparing for work was only one of the many functions urged on the expanding high school. There was hardly any social problem that did not move someone to propose adding a new course to the curriculum — from venereal disease (try a course on sex education) to carnage on the highways (install driver education) to the poor physical condition of draftees (require physical education) to unassimilated immigrants (teach respect for the Constitution and an inspirational version of U.S. history) to alienated or refractory workers (create vocational education). The high school reflected a popular desire to reform society without changing its basic structure or restricting the freedom

Table 1. The Growth of the American High School

Year	High School Enrollments	14- to 17-Year-Olds In School %	17-Year-Olds Graduating from High School %	Median Years Of Schooling In the U.S.
1890	359,949	6.7	3.5	--
1900	699,403	11.4	6.3	--
1910	1,115,398	15.4	8.6	--
1920	2,500,176	32.3	16.3	--
1930	4,804,255	51.4	28.8	--
1940	7,123,009	73.3	49.0	8.6
1950	6,453,009	76.8	57.4	9.3
1960	9,599,810	86.1	63.4	10.5
1970	14,418,301	92.7	75.6	12.2
1978	15,654,000	94.1	--	--

Adapted from *Digest of Education Statistics 1980* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1980), p. 44; and from *Historical Statistics of the United States: From Colonial Times to 1970, Part I* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1975), pp. 379, 381.



The authors of *Cardinal Principles* reflected John Dewey's interest in using secondary education as an instrument for transforming the everyday lives of citizens in an industrial democracy. They touted "social efficiency."

of action of adults. The way to improve the society was to make the young better than their parents. And thus the reports of the high school reformers became a screen on which were projected the hopes and fears of successive generations of Americans.

The tradition of high school reform began in the U.S. in the late 19th century. By the 1890s the schools had a new world on their hands. America was becoming the most powerful industrial nation on earth. Vast corporations were gaining power undreamed of only a decade or two earlier. As the nerve centers of an increasingly interconnected network of institutions of all kinds, the cities were drawing millions of recruits from the farms and from abroad. Labor was growing restive; increasingly antagonistic to new social relationships of production, workers in many locales launched violent strikes. Massive numbers of immigrants arrived and formed virtual colonies in most population centers of the North. First the Populist crusade and then the momentous election of 1896 challenged in the political arena the emergent economic order. Social philosophers wondered whether such institutions as the family and the church could continue their traditional function of socializing the young in a social order that was unimaginably more complex and specialized than the worlds of Benjamin Franklin, Thomas Jefferson, or even Horace Mann.

The authors of the first major national report on the high school, the Committee of Ten, wrote in 1893 as if these major transformations were largely irrelevant to their task. In this respect, they differed from most of the other reformers we will discuss. For the most part, the members of the Committee of Ten were college presidents and professors who wanted to

bring some order to the hodgepodge of the high school curriculum and to improve and standardize preparation for higher education. The colleges lacked students, especially well-trained students. For their part, high school officials were confused and angered by the highly diverse admissions requirements of the colleges. The problem, then, was to devise sequences of courses in different tracks — classical, Latin/scientific, modern languages, and English — that would adequately train secondary students for college. The subcommittees appointed by the Committee of Ten specified what would be desirable scholarly content, in order of difficulty, within each academic area. The job of the subcommittees was simple though rigorous: to provide a coherent model of excellence in college preparation. The members had no doubts about their qualifications, for they were experts in education, which meant the imparting of knowledge and the development of intellectual powers.

Charles William Eliot, president of Harvard University, was chairman and the guiding spirit of the Committee of Ten. He looked down on secondary education as "the gap between the elementary schools and the colleges," a chaotic non-system. Public high schools were almost entirely an urban phenomenon, which meant that the rural three-quarters of the student population had little opportunity to attend secondary schools. Even the city high schools served only a tiny fraction of teenagers; in 1890 only 3.5% of all 17-year-olds graduated. Typically, urban high schools were ornate buildings, often modeled on Renaissance palaces or fortresses, with mezzotint pictures of the Apian Way or of characters from Sir Walter Scott's novels on the walls — reminders that the "people's college" was a world apart from everyday life.

Eliot worried that there were so few

high schools and that those in existence had unsystematic curricula. He and his colleagues thought that high schools should be designed for those few students of high intellectual ability "whose parents were able to support them" while they attended school. He was frankly elitist, but he had a democratic conscience. "If a patriot were compelled to choose between two alternatives," wrote Eliot shortly before the release of the Committee of Ten Report, "one, that the less intelligent half of his countrymen should be completely illiterate, the other, that half of the select children capable of receiving the highest instruction should be cut off from that instruction, which would he choose?"⁶

Eliot and his fellow scholars wished to reach as many of that talented group of students as possible, offer them an updated and standardized academic curriculum (including such modern subjects as science, history, and English), and prepare them as if they planned to attend college. What was good for Harvard and the other elite colleges was good for the country. Eliot and his colleagues saw the high school as an agency for honing intelligence for the challenging careers emerging in a complex and interdependent society. But they did not foresee that in the next generation secondary education would begin to become a mass institution with a significantly broadened mission.

A generation later, in 1918, another group of authorities with quite different conceptions of education wrote a position paper on the high school titled *Cardinal Principles of Secondary Education*. Even in the 1890s, alternate conceptions of the functions of the American high school had emerged to challenge the premises of the Committee of Ten. In 1895 John Dewey had observed that the high school "must, on the one hand, serve as a connecting link between the lower grades and the college, and it must, upon the other, serve not as a steppingstone, but as a final stage" for those directly entering the life of the society.⁷ It was with this second group of students that the authors of *Cardinal Principles* were chiefly concerned, and these reformers reflected Dewey's interest in using secondary education as an instrument for transforming the everyday lives of citizens in an industrial democracy. They were enthusiasts for what was often called "social efficiency" (which meant preparing different kinds of pupils for different kinds of social destinies), but they generally lacked Dewey's profound and subtle understanding of the processes that made democracy real both in the classroom and in the larger society.

Although both committees had been sponsored by the National Education Association, the authors of *Cardinal Principles* were a group quite unlike that which wrote the Committee of Ten Report. The authors of *Cardinal Principles* were primarily members of the newly emerging professional specialties in the field of education, which were just then finding a place in universities and in federal, state, and local school bureaucracies. This new committee included three education professors, a university president who had recently been an education professor, the U.S. commissioner of education, two state high school supervisors, a normal-school principal, a representative from a private school, and a YMCA secretary.

These high school reformers did not take the existing academic disciplines as the starting point for their position paper on the high school curriculum. Indeed, they actually omitted academic skills and knowledge in an early draft of their principles, later adding the three R's disguised as "command of fundamental processes." They focused their attention on the other six of the seven key objectives of the secondary school: preparing the young for health, worthy home membership, vocation, citizenship, worthy use of leisure time, and ethical character. In their view, the high school should become a total socializing institution — one that supplemented, if not replaced, the older functions of the family, church, apprenticeship, and other shaping agencies of society.

Cardinal Principles reflected both the generalized anxieties of the progressive era of the early 20th century and the extraordinary hope of a confident profession that schooling could ameliorate social ills. It was a classic statement of the possibility of a new form of social engineering — of creating deliberate and positive change through education. The report stressed "activities," "democracy," and "efficiency" and seemed to relegate traditional academic subjects and pedagogy to the scrap heap. Its authors based their blueprint for a reformed high school on their analysis of the transformation of society, the changing character of an enlarged student body, new scientific theories of education, and a new social role for the school. They pointed to major changes in the larger society that dictated changes in education: the development of the factory system, which subdivided labor and eroded the apprentice system; the atrophy of traditional socialization of children by parents in urban settings, where families no longer lived and worked in the same place; and the arrival of masses of immigrants unfamiliar with American institutions.

These reformers called attention to the

high dropout rate among high school students and to the increased enrollment of students with "widely varying capacities, aptitudes, social heredity [by which they meant ethnic background], and destinies in life." They argued that educational science had discredited the older notions of "general discipline" (i.e., training the faculties of the mind) and had demonstrated the importance of adapting the curriculum to individual differences in ability. Students must learn, they said, those things that they need to know in order to become healthy, ethical, worthy citizens who know how to behave on the job, in the home, and in their leisure activities.⁸

This report put educators at the very center of efforts to reform the society, and, by a rhetoric of scientific management and social efficiency, it sought to justify the enlarged power to which professionals aspired. The report was the curricular correlative of a political campaign to "take the schools out of politics" that marked the dawn of the age of expertise in school administration. Those who shaped the new "science" of curriculum displayed a peculiar blend of optimistic faith in democracy and serious doubts about the academic potential of a large proportion of the students. They saw differentiation and specificity of training for social adjustment as the key to progress. The new intelligence tests gave educators confidence that they could determine who would succeed in academic training and who would need a slower pace and a vocational emphasis. A bureaucratized school, designed and administered by experts, would then fit pupils for their probable future destinies.

In all of this planning, educators showed little appreciation of ethnic dif-

ferences, for they were convinced of the appropriateness of their middle-class "American" values and unconscious of the bias in their supposedly universal science of education. Their confidence in that "science," their optimism about the power of education to correct social ills, and their search for professional autonomy led them to intervene, with an arrogance that was typically unwitting, in the lives of people different from themselves.

Even more important, few educators were alert to the serious inequities, both in the social order and in the secondary schools, that made basic reform through education an implausible dream. The facts of racism, of unequal distribution of wealth, of gender bias, of alienating social relationships in the new mass-production industries — these realities contradicted the hopes of educators in the conservative 1920s that schooling could be a vast engine of social progress. It was not until the stock market crash of 1929 and the ensuing Great Depression that educational policy makers began to address the full dimensions of the problem of achieving a just society. Nonetheless, the authors of *Cardinal Principles* and their adherents won significant public support for a broader view of the high school as an institution for training the young for vocations; thus they refashioned an older faith in schooling by extending the scope and character of secondary education at a time when society was obscuring the older boundaries of social agreement and changing the rules of human association.

In the next great wave of reform, during the Depression, the issue of schooling seemed inextricably tied to the larger question of whether American society





In the 1950s, critics wanted rigor, a demanding adult world of discipline, and high cognitive expectations for the otherwise dull and disorderly young of the nation.

would be able to survive in its present form. In the current age of economic uncertainty, it is encouraging to recall that hard times during the 1930s became an opportunity for creativity and courage in school reform. Throughout that decade a monumental effort took place to redefine the role of education in a dislocated society. This effort involved both the education profession and such New Deal agencies as the National Youth Administration (NYA), the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC), and the Works Progress Administration (WPA). School personnel called for better guidance of youths and for a host of social services and a more appealing curriculum to meet the needs of the new kinds of students then crowding the high schools. The CCC developed an educational program in the corpsmen's camps, while the NYA funded work-study programs for high school students and provided on-the-job training in its youth employment program. Above all, educational policy makers began to advocate a new ideology: that society owed *all* youths either an education through secondary school or guaranteed public service jobs. So severe was the impact of the Depression on teenagers that it forced policy makers to question the whole operation of a market economy.

Dare the school build a new social order? This was the challenge that George Counts of Teachers College, Columbia University, directed to educators in the 1930s. His question forced educators to consider whether they would continue to legitimize a social order that generated suffering and inequality or whether they would commit themselves to building a new socialist order from the ground up. Counts professed an old faith — that educators could indeed reshape society — but he advocated a new form of that dream in radical language that portrayed the age of individualism as dead and a new era of collectivism as an alternate blueprint for society.⁹ This was a strong potion, when administered in large doses to a habitually cautious profession.

Many educators were entranced for a

time with Counts's millennial language and with the central role he gave to teachers in reconstructing society. Such views, however, made little headway with conservative school boards. Counts and his fellow "social-frontier thinkers" did succeed in raising new questions for educators to consider, and his radicalism made liberal views of governmental responsibility for aiding the poor seem reasonable and a reinvigorated concern for the downtrodden seem an essential aim for education.

The 1930s were a watershed for reform in ways that help us interpret our present crisis. Hard times forced educators to reexamine and reinterpret the historic functions of public schools. The reports of the Educational Policies Commission represent the most famous of such efforts, for they helped to build an ideological case that unified the profession and helped educators to state their position to the public. During the Depression, the problems for youths of unemployment, apathy, unrest, and despair became issues of intense concern in the increasingly national culture of public life. The American Youth Commission sponsored many insightful studies of black and white youths, the labor market for young workers, necessary changes in the educational system, and national policies to give youths a chance to participate in an economic system that seemed to have no place for them. Innovative New Deal youth programs put millions of young people to work, helped them to attend school, and generated a sense of public responsibility for the correction of inequalities and the alleviation of suffering.

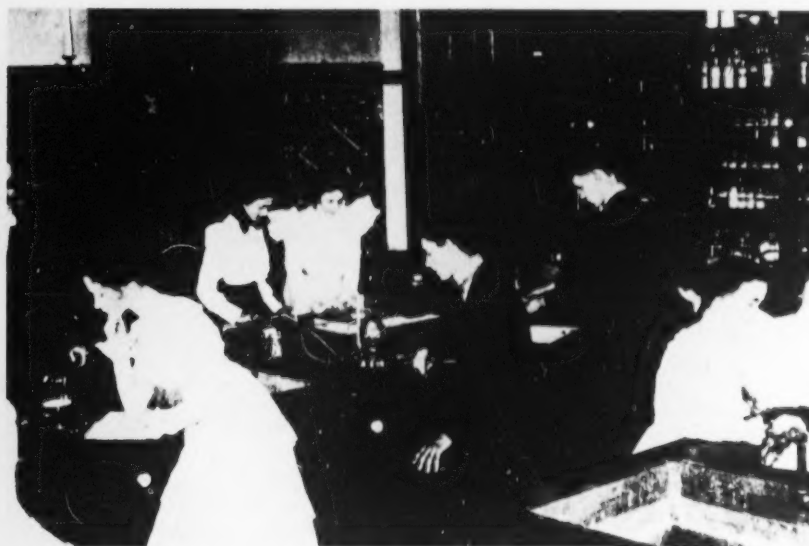
Schools proved to be quite resilient during the Great Depression. Although the gross national product was nearly cut in half during the early 1930s, schooling paused only temporarily in its pattern of growth and then proceeded to expand noticeably (especially at the secondary level) throughout the rest of the decade. When the private economy was collapsing, when familiar beliefs about success were being challenged, when government

was entering new domains, people retained an older trust that public education was an important key to the preservation of treasured values and social stability. School reform was a way of saying things that people wanted and needed to hear: that society was going to survive, that people who worked were going to be rewarded, that education would again lead the way as it had in the past. The high school was as legitimate as ever in the minds of educators and the public, even in the hardest of times.

In the 1950s, however, it was as if the Committee of Ten had awakened from a long sleep to return to the secondary school and view with horror what had happened since the 1890s. A variety of critics — academics, administrators, and an admiral — reviled the lackluster and anti-intellectual character of the high school in the 1950s. They attacked the low standards of academic performance in the schools, blaming the influence of progressive education — life adjustment, child-centered learning, and the like — for all the problems they saw eroding the excellence of American society. These critics decried a watered-down curriculum, incompetent teachers, neglect for the gifted, and a takeover of the schools by people who had no business being there, because they were not teaching anything. The diatribe grew more shrill with the deepening of the Cold War, as fears of external security in an unstable world became cause for a domestic backlash against liberal social and economic views. No longer symbols of progress, high schools had become instead a portent of national failure and defeat, according to the critics.

The solution, these reformers contended, was to place much greater emphasis on science, mathematics, foreign languages, and the traditional liberal arts. They wanted rigor, a demanding adult world of discipline, and high cognitive expectations for the otherwise dull and disorderly young of the nation. Turning back from preparation for life and vocation to the earlier goal of strict mental discipline as the sole outcome of schooling, these critics demanded a revamping of curricula, tougher selection and training of teachers, greater regimentation in the classroom, fewer frills and extras beyond the basic subjects, and greater attention to patriotic instruction.¹⁰ If the pendulum was swinging away from *Cardinal Principles* in the reasoning of these reformers, it was hurtling even further and faster away from the new social order that George Counts and other reformers of the 1930s had envisioned.

The launching of Sputnik I by the So-



viet Union in 1957 heightened the urgency of such traditionalist demands. In the public imagination, school performance and national prestige became coordinate aspects of the same crisis. Someone was bound to come up with a reform that would blend these concerns to affirm rather than to demolish the identity of the high school as a public institution.

Building upon the conservative inclinations of the critics while reaffirming the broad social purposes of the high school, James Bryant Conant completed his report on the high school in 1959.¹¹ Conant's report was probably the last authoritative statement about reform of the U.S. high school — the last to elicit a strong reaction from the entire education profession, the last to defend in traditional and reassuring ways the symbolic relationship between the high school and the ideals of American society.

The reform he suggested was authoritative in part because it reinforced existing practice while celebrating the exalted goals of the high school. Moderately conservative and influenced deeply by the Cold War mentality, Conant attempted to maintain the high school program in competitive equilibrium, using the institution to bring all youths together under one roof for common experiences, while at the same time sorting them for different destinies. Such an institution promised opportunity and some degree of social mobility, though the promise was illusory for all but those whose exceptional performance entitled them to greater rewards in a social order that would remain unequal.

Conant argued that the best strategy would be to retain but improve the comprehensive high school as the predominant means of socializing U.S. adolescents. He urged educators to enlarge the

institution and make it more efficient in serving its dual functions — educating the many while preparing a smaller number for postsecondary education. All in all, Conant saw the high school as a basically sound institution in need of specific improvements: in counseling, in serving the gifted, in providing a high-quality academic education, and so forth. He followed in the tradition of Eliot (both had been chemists and presidents of Harvard before turning to educational reform) by specifying the standards by which he thought a high school could be judged as satisfactory. Conant was effective among educators because he insisted that the American high school was a unitary conception despite differences in schools, communities, clienteles, ideologies, and practices. He had no doubt that the high school was a mainstay of American democracy.

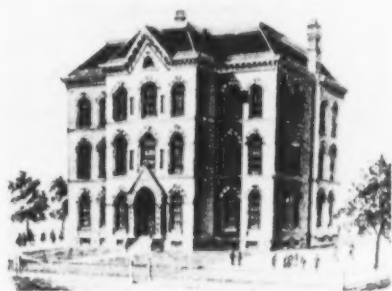
After Conant, reforms came fast and furiously from all sides. The 1960s and 1970s were a time of massive change in the larger society and in education. Blacks, Hispanics, women, the handicapped, and other groups too long ignored in educational policy now demanded a say in shaping the high school. Reformers turned to the courts and to legislatures to bring about changes in school finance, in ways of classifying students, in student discipline and student rights, in segregated schooling, in rights for linguistic minorities, in entitlements for the handicapped, and in a host of other matters previously left to the professionals. Scholars created rigorous new academic curricula, while a new generation of progressive reformers called for alternative schools, electives, and experience-based curricula. Libertarians and

radicals attacked schools as unnatural and rigid, while average citizens year after year told the Gallup pollsters that there was not enough discipline in the classroom. As more actors with divergent views entered the fray of school politics, the older idea of governance by experts seemed to be a thing of the past; everyone, and no one, was a leader.

Under such conditions, those who sought to create a comprehensive program of reform for the high schools in the 1970s faced a Herculean task. A common theme of some of these studies was to look beyond the high school to the larger society for the salvation of youths — to break down the insular culture of the high school and to foster better links with community life and the world of work. The problems the reformers addressed were largely a result of the success of earlier reforms. As educators succeeded in attracting an ever-growing proportion of teenagers into the high school, they faced the task of keeping this heterogeneous population orderly and occupied. As inconsistent reforms accumulated side by side, programs and curricula grew increasingly incoherent. Isolated from work and other contacts with adults, young people seemed to be forming a hermetic youth culture whose features alarmed older citizens. This isolation had been exacerbated by the continuing addition of new social service functions to the high school over the years, which further cut off students from community activities and from networks of support and nurture outside the institutional environment.

The Panel on Youth of the President's Science Advisory Committee despaired in 1974 of the high school as an agency of socialization and urged that more out-of-school opportunities be made available to youths, such as employment, public service, and other community activities that would bring the young and adults together. Little more than a decade after Conant's report, the Panel on Youth contradicted him by recommending specialized, rather than comprehensive, high schools and by advocating smaller, rather than larger, secondary schools. The panel members argued that more young people should work, and they sought to motivate employers by recommending a lower minimum wage and incentives for training young workers. The panel also took a long-range view of education by suggesting a lifelong education voucher, for use through the end of college regardless of a student's age. In essence, the panel responded to the achievement of universal education in comprehensive high schools by suggesting that the result had become a burden, rather than a triumph.¹²

Although more moderate in its criticisms and eclectic in its recommendations,



Calls for change in both liberal and conservative periods reflect the anxieties and the aspirations of the time.

a commission sponsored by the Kettering Foundation reinforced the panel's critique of the comprehensive high school. The Kettering commission called compulsory attendance laws "the dead hand on the high schools" and argued that no one should be forced to attend school after age 14. Its members outlined alternatives to current high school programs, emphasizing informal sources of learning that could break down the rigidity and uniformity inherent in these programs. This mood of disenchantment with the status quo was shared by a number of other reformers in the mid-1970s; their reports also called for youths to spend more time in out-of-school learning activities.¹³

It now seemed conceivable to policy shapers and even to many educators that there should be less schooling, rather than more, and intermittent, rather than continuous, instruction. But the alternative structures of socialization for which the reformers called did not materialize, save in a few government programs such as the Job Corps, which served only a small portion of the youths who needed work or training. In the meantime, parents and students continued to see the high school, with all of its faults, as the chief place to spend the years of adolescence.

David Cohen and Barbara Neufeld argued recently that the problems of the high school today "are in good measure the result of past successes." Our interpretation of the reform tradition corroborates this view. Surely the school is one of the few U.S. institutions that is genuinely committed to increasing social equality. And, to a limited extent, the school has achieved this goal — admirably in recent years in comparison with earlier eras — but this victory has set up the con-

ditions of its own defeat. Past a certain point, equalizing tendencies in education run counter to the ethos of competitive inequality that shapes a hierarchical society such as ours. As Cohen and Neufeld point out, when schools press for greater equality at a time when many citizens feel that they are losing private advantages, one result can be a decline in public support, for "equality is at once an achievement to be celebrated and a degradation to be avoided."¹⁴

Consider the phases in the proposals for reform that we have examined. In conservative times — in the 1890s, the 1950s, and the 1980s, for example — the keynotes of "reform" have typically been a focus on the talented (often justified by outdoing the Russians or outperforming the Japanese), calls for greater emphasis on the basics and greater stress on academics in general, and concern about incoherence in the curriculum and a lack of discipline. The editorials and articles on public education in popular magazines of the 1950s might be reprinted today without any substantial change and be fashionable once again. By contrast, in more liberal eras — the progressive decades, the 1930s, the 1960s, or the early 1970s — attention shifted to the "disadvantaged" and to broadening the functions of schooling. In times of liberal reform, people worry less about consistency and more about overcoming past rigidity. Calls for change in both kinds of periods reflect the anxieties and the aspirations of the time and an image of a preferred future. Seen in the long perspective of history, reformers seem to wear blinders, to see only part of what constitutes a healthy education system — a system in which the persisting reality is that such values as equity, excellence, and liberty are always in tension.

While changes in the rhetoric of reformers' reports swirl over their heads, teachers in classrooms have probably gone about their business in fairly similar ways, changing only slowly over time, as Cuban has said. They may see the immediate educational situation in more balanced ways than do reformers. It may be well that many proposed changes are slow to gain admission to the classroom. But this does not mean that reports suggesting reform serve no function. Nor does this mean that it is useless to reexamine the high school today.

Reform commissions on secondary education serve an important function that goes well beyond changing everyday practice in the schools. At best, they make broad social changes intelligible by focusing on policy in one institution: the high school. Although the impulse to solve major social problems through the secondary school may be naive, desirable social consequences may nonetheless flow from it.

In this society the school is a familiar and omnipresent institution. By thinking about what consequences today's transformations in society have for education, Americans can think concretely about how to shape the future of their children. Even if problems cannot be solved through the public high school alone, Americans can avoid fatalism and a retreat to education in the private sector by considering how they want the next generation to grow up. The most memorable high school reports have been directed to issues that affect public assent and the morale of educators, key ingredients for a strong social contract to sustain the life of the institution.

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TEN
YEARS
AFTER
RODRIGUEZ

KAPPAN

COMPARING THE
INCOMPARABLE
Torsten Husén on
Education in the Developed
Nations

***Coping with
declining enrollments***

BEST AVAILABLE COPY

John Goodlad and Ralph Tyler *A STUDY OF SCHOOLING*

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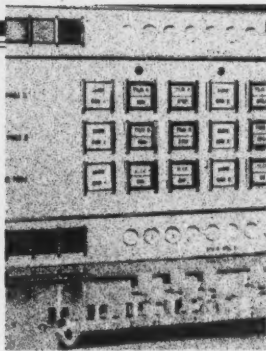
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RESEARCH

An Attempt to Increase Parental Involvement in Rural Schools

by John P. Dolly and D. Patricia Page

Increased parental participation is said to improve the performance of low-achieving students. However, in our study of one rural school district, we found that parents were unwilling to participate in a training and volunteer program, chiefly because they did not believe that their children needed remedial work.

Our data came from a federally funded project designed to assist low-achieving elementary students in a rural school district in the southeastern U.S. By providing free materials and training sessions for parents, district officials expected to increase parental support for remedial programs, to improve parental participation in other programs offered in the district, and to increase the number of parents serving as classroom volunteers. We also expected that increased parental participation would 1) encourage teachers to support the remedial programs and 2) indirectly improve student performance.

In this study we made several assumptions about parental involvement in classroom activities:

- Parents of low-achieving students would be willing to help their children improve in reading and mathematics.
- Parents of low-achieving students would attend free training programs to learn the skills they needed to help their children.
- Parents would be willing to help their children by serving as paid classroom volunteers.
- Parents who did participate would have positive attitudes toward helping their own children.

The study identified 338 schoolchildren enrolled in grades 2, 3, or 4 who scored in the bottom quartile on the California Test of Basic Skills (CTBS). These children attended two separate elementary schools; both schools had a black student enrollment of more than 95%. Parents were first contacted by telephone and then in person by two trained interviewers.

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Those parents who were willing to participate in the project were given the chance to attend six training sessions designed to provide them with instructional skills that they could use to help their children. We also encouraged the parents to become classroom volunteers in their children's schools.

Throughout the study we interviewed participating parents in their homes. These interviews consisted of a set of questions concerning the amount of time spent in such activities as reading, watching television, child care, etc. During the interviews we encouraged parents to react to the study and to the progress of their children. At the end of the study, we administered questionnaires to participating parents and teachers to assess their reactions and to solicit their recommendations.

Only 35 parents ever attended one of the training sessions, and only 18 completed as many as five of the six sessions. Of these, only 10 were willing to serve as volunteers. The parents who attended the training sessions were very positive toward the program on both the pretest and the posttest; they were so positive that there was no room for improvement in their attitudes. However, our interviews with parents who did not participate indicated that nearly 70% refused because they thought that their children did not need remedial work. Many of these parents claimed that their children brought home "good

grades" and performed as well as other children in the neighborhood. Most of these parents simply refused to believe the results of the CTBS.

Teachers were more positive toward the project on the posttest than they were beforehand. The difference was not statistically significant, however.

Overall, the project data indicated that the school district had very little success in involving parents in their children's schools. Given the number of people who worked on the project and the amount of energy they expended, the project must be rated a failure. Of 338 children, only 35 had parents who showed any interest.

Our review of the interview data indicated that many parents refused to believe the test data, because the schools consistently sent home information that said their children were doing satisfactory work. We believe that the unwillingness of schools to tell parents the truth about the skills their children had or had not learned was a crucial factor in convincing parents that their children did not need extra help. Rural parents look to schools as places where educated people make decisions about their children. In this study, the inaccurate assessments made by school district personnel helped to create a climate in which parents refused the opportunity to help their children, because the schools had sent these parents the erroneous message that the youngsters did not need remedial work. □

Stress, Health, and Coping Strategies Of Public School Administrators

by Walter H. Gmelch

A growing body of evidence shows that occupational stress affects both the health and performance of managers.¹ This study, which investigated stress in the ranks of educational management, sought to achieve four main objectives: 1) to

identify situations on the job that public school administrators perceive as stressful, 2) to group these situations into interpretable clusters, 3) to investigate the relationship between perceived stress and health, and 4) to identify ways that administrators cope with stress.

We surveyed 1,855 school administrators. Sixty-five percent (1,156) responded: 354 elementary administrators, 397 junior high and high school administrators, 151 superintendents or superintendent/principals, 165 assistant superintendents or district staff members, and 89 others, in-

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Table 1. Rank and Mean Scores of Sources of Stress

Sources of Stress	All Admins.	Superintendent	Assistant Superintendent	District Staff	High School Principal	High School Vice Principal	Junior High Principal	Junior High Vice Principal	Elementary Principal	Stress Factors*
Complying with rules	1 3.34	1 4.03	1 3.60	1 3.30	1 3.37	3 2.97	1 3.51	3 2.92	1 3.26	BS
Attending meetings	2 3.10	5 2.92	3 3.18	2 3.17	2 3.31	2 3.11	2 3.23	7 2.77	2 3.14	TB
Completing paperwork	3 2.99	4 3.11	5 2.80	4 2.97	6 3.07	10 2.69	5 3.02	5 2.88	3 3.02	TB
Gaining public approval	4 2.97	2 3.39	2 3.38	3 2.93	3 3.18	11 2.67	10 2.80	8 2.63	5 2.92	BS
Resolving parental conflicts	5 2.82	14 2.50	14 2.45	14 2.37	5 3.10	5 2.87	4 3.14	1 3.24	6 2.84	CM
Evaluating staff	6 2.79	8 2.71	15 2.44	25 2.10	4 3.16	13 2.51	3 3.23	10 2.57	4 2.95	--
Affecting lives of people	7 2.77	6 2.91	11 2.54	12 2.38	8 2.99	6 2.82	6 2.99	9 2.58	7 2.80	--
Too-heavy workload	8 2.72	8 2.71	7 2.68	7 2.72	10 2.87	8 2.71	9 2.81	12 2.53	10 2.56	TB
Expectations of self	9 2.70	7 2.73	7 2.68	6 2.73	11 2.80	9 2.70	12 2.69	11 2.54	8 2.61	TB
Telephone interruptions	10 2.67	15 2.49	6 2.72	5 2.74	9 2.89	7 2.73	10 2.80	13 2.48	9 2.58	TB
Outside-school activities	11 2.67	12 2.56	9 2.63	23 2.20	7 3.00	1 3.23	8 2.86	4 2.89	12 2.52	TB
Student discipline	12 2.58	26 2.01	32 1.75	31 1.73	15 2.56	4 2.96	7 2.97	2 3.05	11 2.54	CM
Number of administrators**	1067	151	50	115	123	120	88	66	354	

*Stress factors are indicated as follows: BS, boundary spanning; CM, conflict mediating; RB, role based; and TB, task based.

**Does not include 89 respondents in the "other" category.

cluding curriculum directors, transportation supervisors, and athletic directors. The average administrator in our survey was 42 years old, with nine years of administrative experience, and probably male (91%).

The instrument we used was developed from the 15-item index of Job-Related Strain.² We supplemented these questions with additional items suggested by a review of current publications and by the stress logs kept by 40 school administrators for one week. We then field-tested a pilot instrument for validity and clarity and developed the 35-item Administrative Stress Index (ASI). We also asked for demographic information and included an open-ended question that asked the administrators to list techniques they found useful in handling stress.

Table 1 shows the mean scores and the rank order for the top 12 stressful situations reported by school administrators.

Note that, although the mean scores vary, the rank ordering is similar for many administrative groups. This similarity suggests that school administrators at a variety of levels face some common problems.

We also sought to explore the many dimensions of administrative stress.³ Therefore, we analyzed the 35 stressful situations of the ASI by the principal components varimax rotation, which yielded four interpretable dimensions. The first factor, role-related stress, accounted for 50% of the common variance; it includes administrators' role interactions and beliefs about their place in the organization. The second factor, task-based stress, accounted for 22% of the common variance; it takes account of stress surrounding the performance of such daily tasks as meetings and paperwork. The third factor, boundary-spanning stress, explains 16% of the common variance; it reflects the stress administrators feel when dealing

with environments outside their administrative control, e.g., collective bargaining and community relations. The fourth factor, conflict-mediating stress, accounts for 12% of the common variance; it reflects the stress inherent in mediating conflicts of all kinds, e.g., between parents and teachers, among teachers, and among students. Three of the four dimensions found in this study are consistent with theoretically derived models of occupational stress.⁴ Task-based, role-based, and conflict-mediating stress appear to be common to all administrative occupations; boundary-spanning stress, however, seems to be peculiar to public school administrators.

Our study, like previous ones,⁵ found a strong and significant relationship between stress and reports of poor health. Unlike earlier researchers, we asked the administrators we surveyed to estimate what percentage of the total stress in their

RESEARCH

lives was job related. More than 60% reported that at least 70% of the total stress in their lives was job related.

In addition, we conducted a content analysis of the more than 2,500 techniques or strategies that administrators identified as useful in coping with job-related stress. Three general categories emerged: physical activity, mental control, and new management skills. More than 50% of the administrators relieved stress by engaging in some sort of physical activity. These activities ranged from jogging or chopping wood to practicing yoga or meditation. Approximately 40% of the administrators used some type of mental control as an antidote to stress. These techniques included adopting such positive attitudes as approaching all problems with optimism, sharing problems with colleagues and spouses, and establishing realistic goals. Developing management skills, though

not as frequently mentioned, was the third general technique employed by these administrators to cope with stress. The skills that they most often singled out as helping to reduce stress were time management, conflict management, good personnel practices, team management, and effective use of superiors, subordinates, and peers.

No amount of research can identify a single, specific means of combating the harmful effects of stress for every administrator. Moreover, as this study demonstrates, the causes of stress are likely to be many and varied. Perhaps the message to be gleaned from our study is that those who best cope with stress are those flexible enough to draw on a number of techniques.

1. Cary L. Cooper and Judi Marshall, "Occupational Sources of Stress: A Review of the Literature Relating

to Coronary Heart Disease and Mental Health," *Journal of Occupational Psychology*, Fall 1976, pp. 11-28; Walter H. Gmelch, *Improve Management Skills by Removing Stress* (San Jose, Calif.: Lansford, 1980); idem, *Beyond Stress to Effective Management* (New York: Wiley, 1982); John H. Howard, David A. Cunningham, and Peter A. Rehnitzer, *Rusting Out, Burning Out, Bowing Out* (Toronto: Macmillan, 1978); and Boyd Swent and Walter H. Gmelch, *Stress at the Desk and How to Cope Creatively*, Oregon School Study Council, December 1977.

2. Bernard Indik, Stanley E. Seashore, and Jonathan Slesinger, "Demographic Correlates of Psychological Strain," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, Fall 1964, pp. 26-38.

3. The statistical analysis was conducted by James L. Koch and Rosalie T'ung of the University of Oregon.

4. See Joseph E. McGrath, "Stress and Behavior in Organizations," in Marvin D. Dunnette, ed., *Handbook of Industrial and Organizational Psychology* (Chicago: Rand-McNally, 1976), pp. 1351-95.

5. See, for example, Cary L. Cooper and Roy Payne, *Stress at Work* (New York: Wiley, 1978); and John R. P. French and Robert D. Caplan, "Organizational Stress and Individual Strain," in Alfred J. Marrow, ed., *The Failure of Success* (New York: AMACOM, 1973). □

Vernon H. Smith

BOOKS

A Readable Treatise on the Rise Of Television and the Demise of Childhood



► *The Disappearance of Childhood*, by Neil Postman. Delacorte Press (One Dag Hammarskjöld Plaza, New York, NY 10017), 1982. 192 pp. \$10.95.

The human mind has been likened to a picture gallery, rather than a debate hall or a library. If this be so, it should come as no surprise that television has seduced so many people, for, as Neil Postman observes in *The Disappearance of Childhood*, television is a medium of image, not of language.

A society that relies too heavily on television for its information and entertainment suffers erosion of both its language and its ability to reason. Words and pictures belong to two different realms of discourse, according to Postman. Words conceptualize; pictures materialize. Language abstracts experience, whereas pictures represent experience. Hence, although a picture may be worth a thousand words, it is in no sense the equivalent of a thousand words — or of a single word. A picture is irrefutable because it does not put forward a proposition, imply an opposite, or require rules of logic. Pictures ask us to feel, not to think.

Likewise, Postman says, television requires instantaneous recognition of patterns, not delayed analytic decoding. "It requires perception, not conception." The progression, therefore, is from the steady supply of pictures presented by this medium to an overemphasis on feelings and things, thence to a loss of logical thinking ability (consider, for a moment, the content of any commercial aired on television), and finally to an inability to express thought in language.

Reading requires some mastery of grammar, spelling, logic, and vocabulary. Television, by contrast, neither requires nor develops any skills. A person who reads becomes a better reader. An individual who watches television does not improve his or her televising or thinking skills.

None of these insights is new. Rather, Postman's most original and fascinating contribution lies in relating the rise of television to the demise of the idea of childhood. Television is an egalitarian medium, accessible to virtually everyone. It is a medium of the masses. It homogenizes experiences and erases the distinction between adulthood and childhood, according to Postman, who argues that the modern western idea of childhood is a social artifact that has been called forth by

Reviewed by H. DAVIS BYRD, Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, Louisville, Ky.

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KAPPAN



**Multiethnic Education
At the Crossroads**

James A. Banks, guest editor

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FALLOUT AND SAT SCORES: EVIDENCE FOR COGNITIVE DAMAGE DURING EARLY INFANCY

by Ernest J. Sternglass and Steven Bell



The authors present new evidence to show that nuclear radiation is associated with impaired cognitive functions. They link radiation from nuclear bomb testing to the long decline — and now the beginnings of a rise — in scores on the Scholastic Aptitude Test.

In 1982, after declining steadily for 19 years, scores on the Scholastic Aptitude Test (SAT) began to rise. We predicted such a reversal in a paper we presented at the 1979 annual meeting of the American Psychological Association¹ and discussed in the November 1979 issue of the *Kappan*.² This prediction was based on our hypothesis that the principal new factor in the sharp score decline during the 1970s was the fallout from the massive nuclear bomb tests of the 1950s and early 1960s. This fallout acts on the thyroid of the developing fetus in the mother's womb and during infancy, when the thyroid is known to control the development of cognitive functions. In this article we will present the most recent evidence supporting this hypothesis, as contained in newly available state-by-state data on SAT scores and data collected by the U.S. Public Health Service on radioactive fission products in pasteurized milk.

Early Evidence

As discussed in the earlier *Kappan* article, the principal evidence linking the decline in SAT scores to nuclear fallout in-

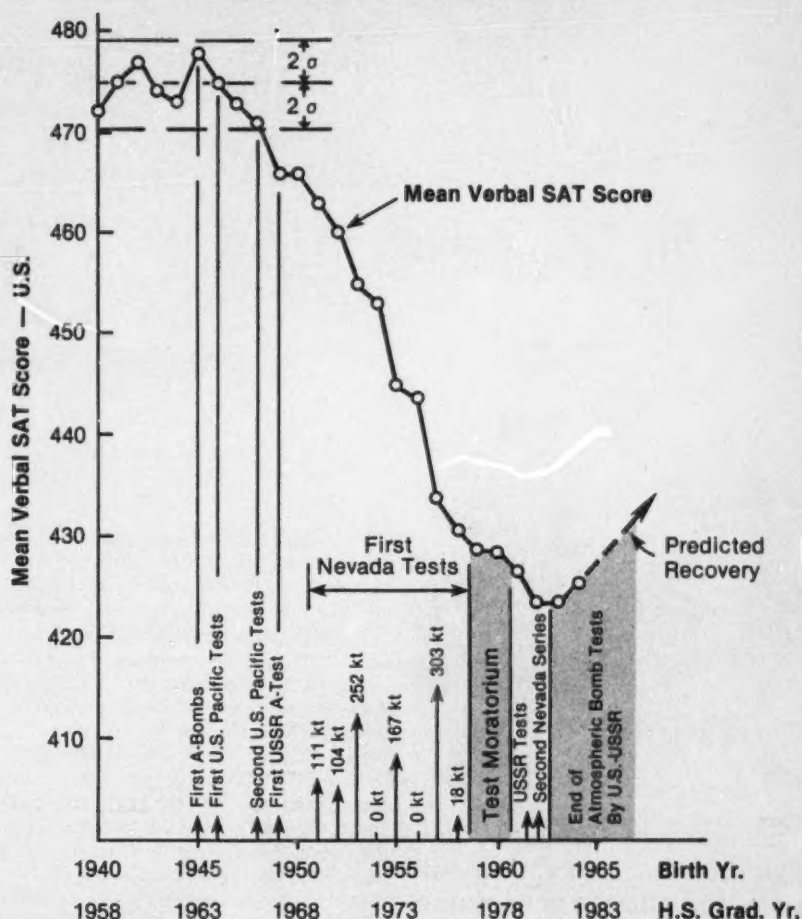
volves the temporal and geographical patterns of the year-by-year changes in the scores, which closely follow the pattern of nuclear bomb tests some 17 to 18 years earlier, when most of the students taking the tests in the Seventies were born. The initial finding that suggested our hypothesis was the fact that the sharpest decline in SAT scores ever recorded in a single year occurred in 1975, 18 years after the largest test series in Nevada, when extremely large quantities of radioactive iodine-131 were found in commercially available pasteurized milk. This short-lived fission product (with a half-life of eight days) is known to concentrate strongly in the fetal and infant thyroid. Furthermore, iodine-131 was found to cause thyroid damage accompanied by growth retardation, both in animal studies³ and in follow-up tests of children accidentally exposed to fallout during early hydrogen bomb tests in the Pacific in 1954.⁴ Thus a biological mechanism for damage to human cognitive functions exists via the induction of hypothyroidism, or the impaired production of the thyroid hormone essential for normal mental development.

Further support for this hypothesis comes from the fact that the steady decline in SAT scores began in 1963, 18 years after 1945, the year in which the first atomic bombs were detonated in New Mexico, Hiroshima, and Nagasaki. Moreover, the rate of the decline accelerated sharply for students born in the early Fifties, when bomb tests were begun in Nevada. The hypothesis was further supported by the fact that, beginning with the years 1977-78, the decline suddenly slowed

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The two-year decline in verbal scores was nine points for the Midwest region, but it was 19 points for the western region, which includes those states in which the fresh fallout had been heaviest.

Figure 1. Mean Verbal SAT Scores for the U.S. From 1958 to 1982 and Nuclear Tests at Birth of Test-Takers 18 Years Earlier



Source: College Board.

Table 1. Correlation Between the 1977 to 1978 Change in Verbal SAT Scores In 36-44 States and the Levels of Various Fission Products in the Milk for These States for the Year Of Largest Atmospheric Bomb Tests (1962)*

Fission Product	Pearson Correlation Coefficient <i>r</i>	Significance <i>p</i>
Iodine-131	-0.5502	0.001
Barium-140	-0.2665	0.061
Cesium-137	-0.1232	0.240
Strontium-90	+0.0686	0.400
Strontium-89	+0.0359	0.419

*See footnote to Table 2 for states with incomplete or missing SAT data.

— exactly 18 years after the 1959 moratorium temporarily halted the massive release of fission products into the environment. (Atmospheric testing was resumed for one year in the fall of 1961.)

The close relation of the decline in SAT scores to the onset and ending of atmospheric bomb tests in Nevada and elsewhere 17 to 18 years earlier is evident from the graph of verbal SAT scores for the U.S. over the years for which data are now available (Figure 1). Because scores on the mathematics portion of the SAT showed a parallel decline, only the verbal

scores have been plotted. Figure 1 indicates the size of the bomb tests in Nevada as measured in kilotons (or thousands of tons of TNT equivalent). Since no detailed measurements of radioactivity in the milk and diet were made on a nationwide basis until the end of the 1950s, weapon yield is the only measure of fallout available for the early phase of the Nevada tests.

Figure 1 shows that the sharpest score declines took place among youths born in those years when the weapon yield detonated in Nevada was greatest. This corre-

lation is brought out more clearly in Figure 2, in which the annual declines in SAT verbal scores have been plotted together with the annual weapon yield in kilotons 18 years earlier. The two curves are seen to be almost mirror images of each other — the SAT score declining most precipitously when the annual kilotonnage detonated 18 years earlier rose most sharply.

Further evidence linking fallout with a decline in cognitive abilities tested some 17 to 18 years later comes from geographical data that first became available on a regional basis. As shown in Table 1 of the November 1979 *Kappan* article, the greatest decline for the two-year period bracketing the 1957 birth year (the year in which the greatest amount of fallout from Nevada tests occurred) was not in the urban Midwest, New England, or Middle Atlantic regions, but in the Far West, closest to the Nevada, Pacific, and Siberian test sites. The two-year decline in verbal scores was nine points for the Midwest region, where the large metropolitan areas of Detroit, Chicago, and St. Louis are located, but it was 19 points for the western region, which includes Nevada, Utah, and Alaska — where the fresh fallout had been heaviest.

In addition to regional averages, SAT scores for a few individual states had just become available in 1979; one of these happened to be Utah. For this state, where SAT scores had been among the highest in the U.S., the decline in both verbal and math scores was by far the largest. The verbal scores declined by 26 points and the math scores dropped by 15 points in a period of only two years for the birth years 1956-58 — a period that corresponded to the years of the heaviest measured fallout in the Fifties. Yet, during the same period, for the heavily industrialized state of Ohio — some 2,000 miles to the east of the test site and south of most of the Nevada fallout clouds drifting northeastward across the U.S. and Canada — the verbal scores declined by only two points, while the math scores actually rose by four points.

Recent Data

Since then, more detailed data have become available not only for the SAT scores on a state-by-state basis but also for the radioactivity in people's diets 18 years earlier. Beginning in 1960, the U.S. Public Health Service published the concentration of the most important fission products in pasteurized milk for all 50 states, the District of Columbia, and Puerto Rico.³ Also, the SAT scores for most states outside the southern region of the U.S. were released for the period from 1973 to 1979 (i.e., the birth years 1955 to

Figure 2. Annual Declines in the Verbal SAT Scores by Year of High School Graduation Compared with the Annual Kilotons Of Small Atomic Bombs Detonated in Nevada 18 Years Earlier

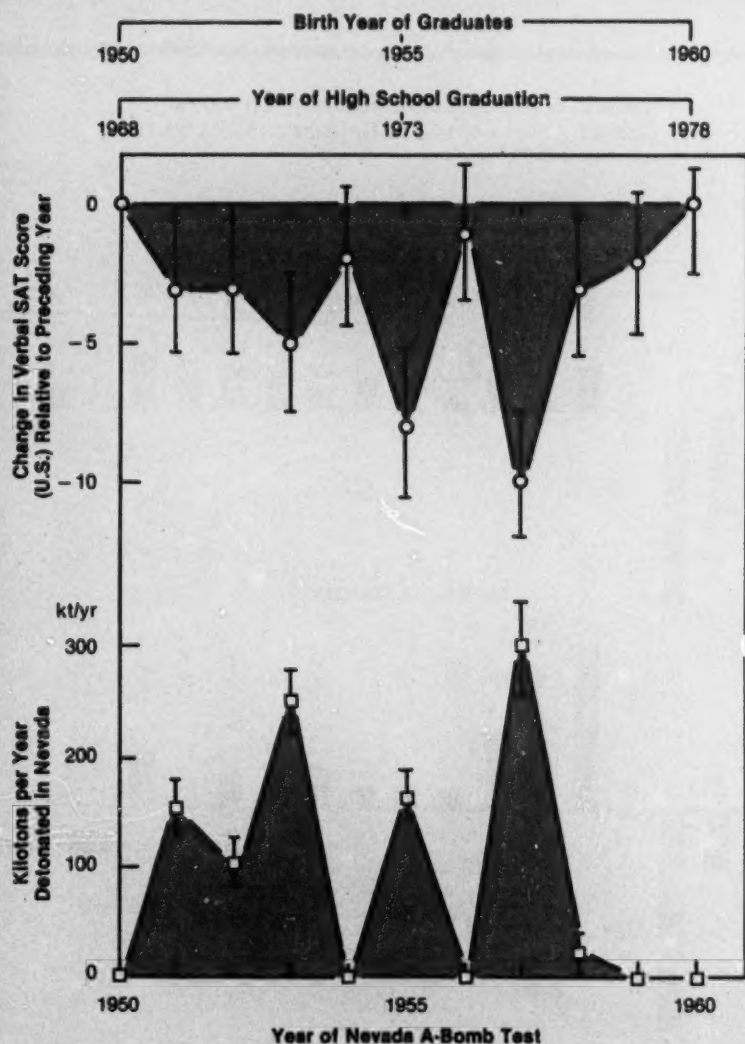


**Table 2. Correlation Between Annual Changes
In Verbal SAT Scores in 36-44 States and Levels of
I-131 in the Milk in 1962***

Birth Years	Age in 1962	Year of SAT Test	<i>r</i>	<i>p</i>	Factors Related To Radioactivity
1960-61	0-1	1978	- 0.5502	0.001	Resumption of bomb tests in 1961
1959-60	1-2	1977	+ 0.2956	0.042	No U.S.-USSR atmospheric bomb tests 1959-60
1958-59	2-3	1976	+ 0.3330	0.014	
1957-58	3-4	1975	- 0.0286	0.427	Heaviest Nevada A-tests
1956-57	4-5	1974	- 0.0771	0.390	Heavy Nevada A-tests
1955-56	5-6	1973	+ 0.1358	0.190	No Nevada A-tests in 1956

*No SAT data available for Alabama, Tennessee, Virginia, Florida, Georgia, North Carolina, South Carolina. Incomplete data for District of Columbia, Kansas, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Dakota, South Dakota, Puerto Rico, and West Virginia.

1961).⁶ This permitted us to carry out correlations between the state-by-state fallout measurements on iodine-131, strontium-90, strontium-89, cesium-137, and barium-140 in pasteurized milk for the years 1961-62 (when atmospheric tests resumed briefly) and the annual changes in SAT scores for a period of 12 to 18 years later for most of the states outside the South.

The principal results of this analysis can be summarized as follows. We found the strongest correlation between radioactivity in the milk for the years 1961 and 1962 — when atmospheric bomb tests were at their highest level — and the verbal SAT score declines for 1978, some 17 years later (i.e., scores for individuals who had been one year old or less when the bomb tests took place). We found no such strong correlation between radioactivity in the milk in 1961 and 1962 and verbal score declines for the high school graduating classes of 1973 to 1977 for which data were available. This is consistent with the hypothesis that the strongest effects of radioactivity are on the developing infant just before birth and for the next one to two years.

Furthermore, the strongest correlation existed for iodine-131, the fission product known to seek out the thyroid gland, which controls the development of the brain. Much weaker correlations existed for the short-lived isotope barium-140, which concentrates in bone, and the long-lived cesium-137, which goes to soft tissue but does not concentrate strongly in the thyroid. No correlation was found between annual SAT score changes and the levels of long-lived strontium-90 and short-lived strontium-89, which, like barium-140, tend to concentrate in the bone.

The actual values of the Pearson correlation coefficient *r* and the significance *p* are listed in Table 1 for the verbal scores.

**Figure 3. Geographical Pattern of Changes in
SAT Scores Across the U.S. Between 1981 and 1982**

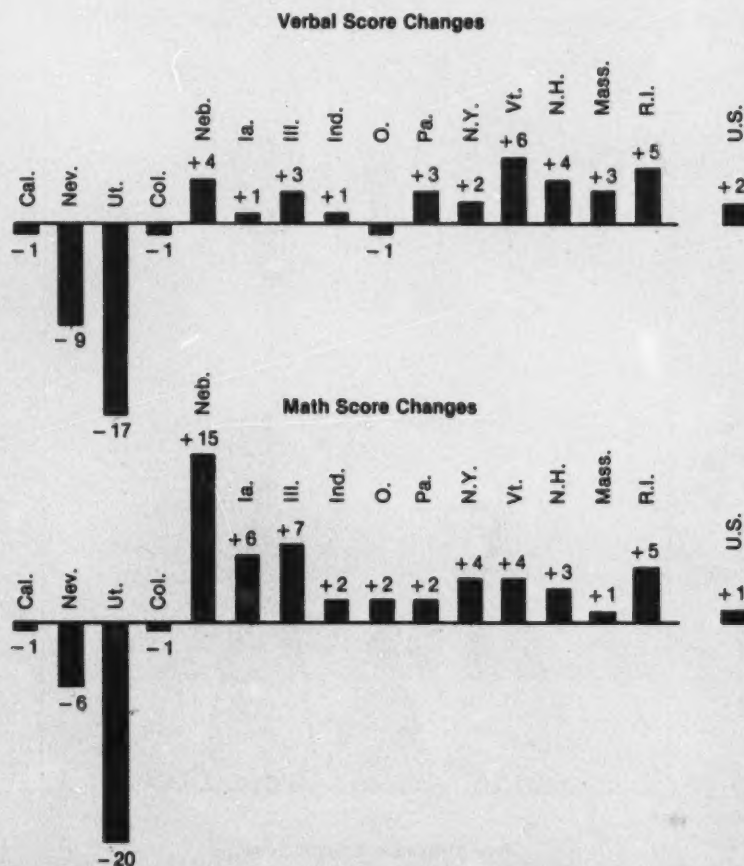


Table 3. States in Which Both SAT Verbal and Math Scores Declined from 1981 to 1982

State	Verbal SAT Scores			Math SAT Scores		
	1981	1982	Change	1981	1982	Change
Alaska	449	446	- 3	486	477	- 9
Arizona	476	470	- 6	514	511	- 3
California	426	425	- 1	475	474	- 1
Idaho	486	482	- 4	523	513	-10
Nevada	445	436	- 9	487	481	- 6
Oklahoma	485	483	- 2	526	518	- 8
Utah	511	494	-17	548	528	-20
Washington	472	468	- 4	517	514	- 3

Source: College Board.

Table 1 shows that a large negative correlation — corresponding to declines in the verbal SAT scores for the states studied, combined with a high significance (p of much less than .05) — exists only for iodine-131. Table 2 shows that, for this fission product, the correlation coefficient has the largest negative value and p has the highest significance (or smallest size) only for the SAT test year of 1978 — that is, for individuals who were born just before the 1962 atomic test series or who were in their early infancy at that time.

It is of interest to note that, for individuals who were older than one year when the 1962 tests took place or who had been born in 1958-60, there is an apparently paradoxical result. There is a positive rather than the expected negative correlation between the annual score changes and the levels of iodine-131 in the 1962 milk, which would at first suggest that iodine-131 consumed by these individuals when they were aged 1 to 2 had a beneficial effect on their later SAT test performance. However, this puzzling result is actually a rebound effect due to the fact that bomb tests had temporarily stopped, and iodine-131 quickly disappeared from the milk when these individuals were in their most sensitive period of early infancy. This caused the scores for this age group to rise relative to the depressed scores for those who were born in previous years and who had received the greatest amounts of iodine-131 as a result of the large nuclear test series of 1957. But the states that recorded the greatest score increases during the test moratorium of 1958-60 were also the states with the higher iodine-131 levels when bomb tests resumed in Nevada in 1962, so that a spurious positive correlation arises between annual score changes and the 1962 state-by-state levels of radioactivity for the 1956-58 birth cohort.

Therefore, the detailed correlations not only confirm the original hypothesis — that decreases in SAT scores were re-

lated to rises in fallout during early infancy — but they now pinpoint the principal isotope responsible as the one that seeks out the thyroid gland and causes various degrees of intellectual impairment as a result of hypothyroidism.

The 1982 Data

A further test of the link between radioactive fallout and SAT score declines has now been provided by the publication of the 1982 SAT test scores, which, for the first time, gave the results for all 50 states.

Although the U.S. as a whole showed a rise in test scores of two points for the verbal section and one point for the math scores (as expected, following the cessation of the large atmospheric tests in 1963), not all the states participated in the rise. Table 3 contains the data on the eight

states that declined in both verbal and math scores between 1981 and 1982, counter to the trend for the country as a whole. These states were Nevada, Utah, Arizona, California, Idaho, Oklahoma, Washington, and Alaska — all of them again located in the West, where iodine-131 was recorded from the first Chinese atomic test⁷ and where underground and near-surface bomb testing resumed in 1964 at a high rate.⁸ Moreover, residents in the West were subjected to fallout from low-altitude releases produced by peaceful nuclear tests under the Plowshare program, even though the 1963 test-ban treaty ended large-scale above-ground tests by the U.S. and Russia.

Figure 3, which gives the SAT score changes for a line of states from east to west across the U.S., shows that Nevada and Utah again had the greatest declines. Scores in Utah declined by 17 points on the verbal subtest and by 20 points on the math subtest — the largest single-year declines ever reported for any state, consistent with the close downwind location of the state from the test site in Nevada.

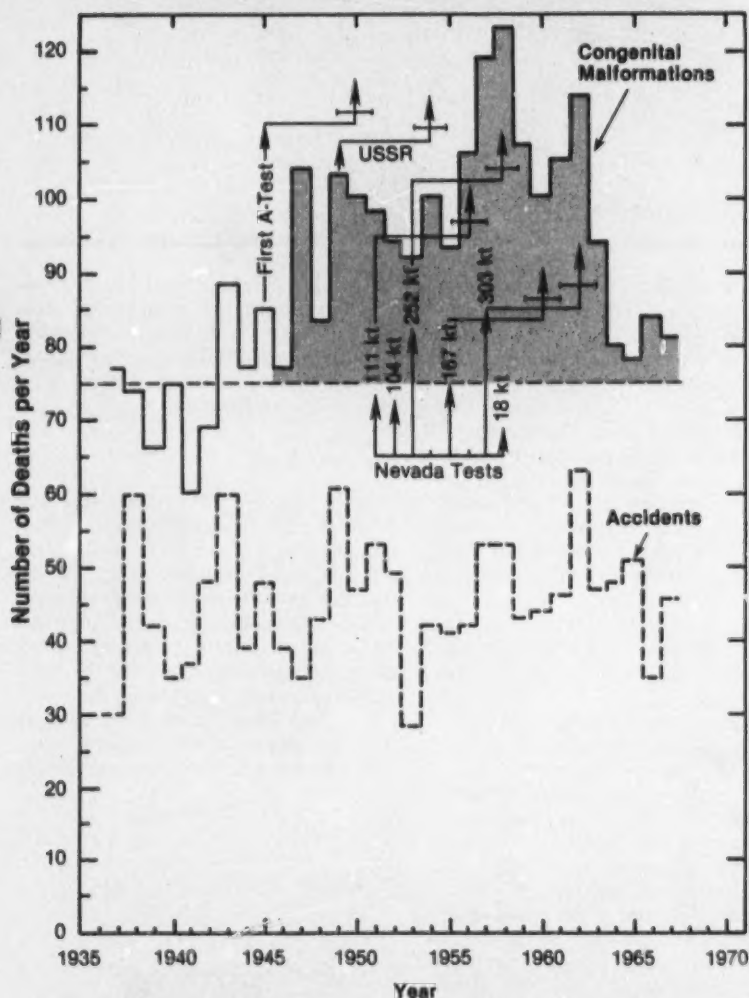
In view of the detailed confirmation of the hypothesis that the sudden, sharp declines in the SAT verbal and math scores during the 1970s were highly correlated with the release of radioactive iodine-131 into the environment, that the correlation was strongest for those in their infancy, and that the effects were greatest in the states closest to the test site, it seems



"Continue to support sex education in the schools if you want to, but Billy just told me that he resulted when your sperm met my omelet."

Fetal deaths, infant mortality, low birth weight, and congenital defects show the same pattern of high correlation with fallout on a state-by-state basis during the period of nuclear tests.

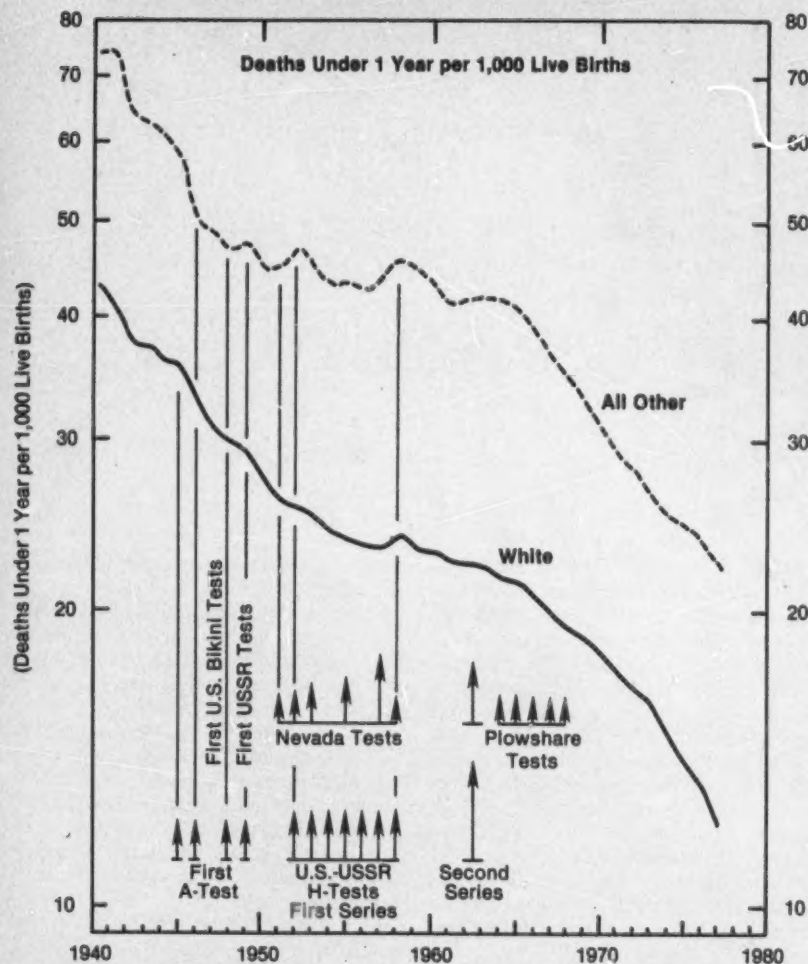
Figure 4. Annual Number of Deaths per Year Due to Congenital Defects for 0- to 4-Year-Old Children in Utah, 1938-67, Compared with Annual Deaths Caused By Accidents (Excluding Motor Vehicles)



difficult to avoid the conclusion that fallout from nuclear weapons was a significant and previously neglected factor in the recent decline of cognitive ability among young Americans. These results help to explain why such societywide factors as television viewing, the Vietnam war, the effect of child-spacing, the gradual changes in the number and mix of students taking the tests, or poorer performance of U.S. schools could not account for the highly localized fluctuations of SAT scores — changes that were strongest in the western states, particularly in Utah, known for a high level of scholastic achievement among its predominantly Mormon population.

The evidence for fallout as an important factor in score declines becomes even stronger when taken together with the evidence that fetal deaths, infant mortality, low birth weight, and congenital defects show the same pattern of high correlation with fallout on a state-by-state basis during the period of nuclear tests.⁹ This is illustrated by the plots of mortality due to congenital defects among children under age 5 in Utah (Figure 4) and plots of infant mortality in the U.S. before, during, and after the end of nuclear tests (Figure 5). It is also consistent with the recent evidence of increases in leukemia among children born in Utah following the onset of Nevada testing,¹⁰ as well as the world-

Figure 5. Changing Trends in Infant Mortality in the U.S. For White and Nonwhite Populations (1940-1977) — Before, During, and After Atmospheric Nuclear Tests



Source: U.S. Monthly Vital Statistics, Vol. 28, No. 1, 11 May 1979, with periods of major atomic tests added.

wide rises and declines in infant mortality, leukemia, and cancer correlated with nuclear fallout.¹¹

The high correlation of declines in SAT scores with the state-by-state levels of radioactive iodine-131 in the milk for those exposed in utero or during early infancy strongly supports an ecological or medical basis for a general decline in the average intellectual ability of those born during the 1950s and early 1960s. Bernard Rimland and Gerald Larson¹² have recently pointed out that this decline is reflected not only in falling SAT scores, but also in falling I.Q. scores and in sharply rising rates of learning problems, truancy, juvenile delinquency, homicides, suicides,

vandalism, and violence against teachers in our schools — problems that have only recently begun to abate.

The implications of all of these findings are extremely serious for the future of our civilization in the nuclear age. If only a handful of small "tactical" nuclear weapons totaling less than 1,000 kilotons (or a single megaton of TNT-equivalent explosive power) — detonated in Nevada, far from our most heavily populated urban centers — could produce major effects on the cognitive abilities of a generation of children who were exposed to the distant fallout, then these results indicate that the intellectual abilities so essential to any modern society would be seriously im-

paired even in a limited nuclear war that would involve the detonation of only a small fraction of the thousands of nuclear weapons now in arsenals around the world. This would be true whether or not any cities were hit by these weapons. It would be true even if only military targets, such as missile silos hundreds of miles away from urban centers, were the targets — even if we had a perfect civil defense shelter program, so that not a single individual would die from blast, fire, or immediate radiation.

The evidence now appears to indicate that the fission products produced by nuclear bombs are among the most powerful biological agents ever developed and that their most devastating action is on the hormonal system controlling the mental development of the newborn. Unless we are willing to face the evidence and draw the necessary conclusions, it is doubtful that our species — whose principal characteristics are the abilities to reason, to imagine, and to use abstract symbols to organize and transmit experience to future generations — can continue to flourish on this planet.

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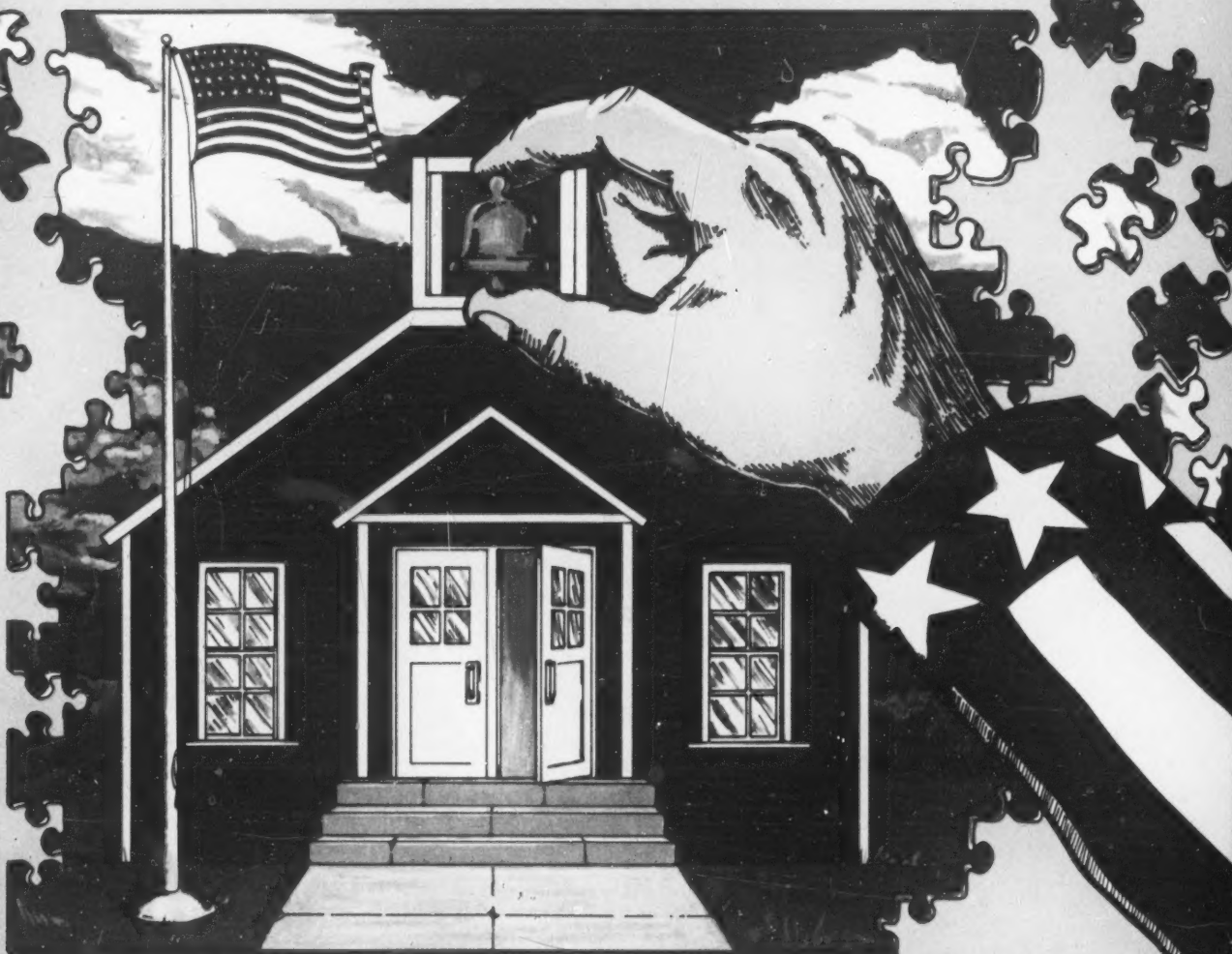
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THE GALLUP EDUCATION SURVEYS: IMPRESSIONS OF A POLL WATCHER

by Stanley M. Elam

In its 15-year history, the Gallup Poll of the Public's Attitudes Toward the Public Schools has become a kind of national institution. Mr. Elam, observer of the poll since its inception and now its director, takes a critical look at this important indicator.

OVER ITS 15-YEAR history, the Gallup Poll of the Public's Attitudes Toward the Public Schools has become a kind of national institution, studied and debated each year not only by educators, students of education, and education policy makers but also by politicians and editorial writers across the country. (It is interesting to note that the National Commission on Excellence in Education refers specifically to findings of the Gallup poll in its 1983

report.) I doubt that this would have been the case had not George Gallup, Sr., the father of scientific polling and a journalist of unquestioned integrity, taken such a strong personal interest in the annual surveys. Now 82 years of age, he still prepares each final analysis himself, and his work — supported by a succession of poll sponsors — enables policy makers to measure school success by public attitudes and opinion in a way that was never possible before the 1970s.

Since findings of the Gallup education poll first appeared in the pages of the *Kappan* in 1969, approximately 22,750 adults have responded to 317 questions, 53 of which have been put more than once. Only a question asking about the "major problems" of the local public schools has been used in every poll.

Throughout the history of the poll the public has indicated willingness to accept new ideas or (as in the case of performance contracting) to have certain old ones revived. Table 1 shows that, in 45 in-

stances, a majority of the respondents approved proposals for change, often by large margins. During the same 15-year interval, a majority of the poll respondents disapproved of suggestions for change in only 11 instances. It is interesting that the public has favored one of the recommendations of the National Commission on Excellence in Education and opposed another. Merit pay for teachers was first approved in the 1970 poll by a margin of 58% to 36%. By 1981 a similar idea — the notion of retaining teachers on the basis of performance rather than seniority — had gained even greater support; the margin of approval was 78% to 17%. A longer school day and/or year was not popular when the idea was first tested in the 1982 poll, but it gained some adherents this year.

Although Table 1 suggests flexibility on the part of the public, one should remember that cumulated answers often conceal more than they reveal. How many respondents would have answered as they

STANLEY M. ELAM (*Indiana University Chapter*) is contributing editor, *Phi Delta Kappan*. He was editor of the *Kappan* when the first Gallup poll was published in 1969, and he has served since 1970 on a panel that meets annually with George Gallup, Sr., to discuss poll questions. Until he retired as *Kappan* editor in December 1980, he edited the poll each year and, at five-year intervals, compiled anthologies of poll reports. Since 1980 he has served as director of what is today the *Phi Delta Kappa-Gallup* education poll.

did had a price tag been attached to an idea that could not be implemented without increased expenditures? For example, good job-training programs (approved by a margin of 86% to 11%) are expensive; so are special schools to teach English to non-English-speaking immigrants (approved by a margin of 82% to 13%). If a merit pay system (approved by a majority) is to be fair and workable, it will require enormous commitments of both time and money. For example, the Utah School Merit Committee spent six years and a half million dollars to find this out nearly a quarter of a century ago, and the merit system disappeared in Utah once state funding for it dried up.* Arguably, a public well-informed about such fiscal realities would answer differently.

Moreover, when the pollsters begin to probe, as was done on the topic of sex education in 1981, they sometimes find that answers that seem to express overall approval actually conceal rejection of some aspect of a proposal. In 1970 the public approved sex education by a margin of 65% to 28%. But when in 1981 pollsters asked first about sex education in high school and then about sex education in the elementary school, they discovered that slightly more respondents opposed the latter (48%) than favored it (45%). Further, only certain sex-related topics gained majority approval, even for study in the high school. Considered taboo or questionable were abortion, homosexuality, and the nature of sexual intercourse.

AS STUDENTS of the poll know, new questions evolve from old ones. There is good reason for this. Poll panelists, and sometimes interested readers, become aware of what I call the "concealment factor." A good example is the rating question, which most of us considered a clever way of tracing attitudinal trends when it was first asked in 1974. (See "1983 Rating of the Public Schools" in Gallup's current report, page 35 of this *Kappan*.) It was not until 1981 that someone — his or her identity has gone unrecorded — wondered whether there would be a marked difference between ratings of local elementary and local high schools. Sure enough, the 1981 survey showed that, whereas high schools gained A ratings from only 7% of the respondents and B ratings from 25%, elementary schools received A ratings from 13% and B ratings from 33%. Another panelist — again the name is lost to posterity — wondered if there might not be a difference between respondents' assessments of their local schools and their

Table 1. Public Attitudes Toward Change and Innovation

Suggested Change	Approve %	Disapprove %
More career education (1973)	90	7
(1976)	80	5
High school credit for community service (1978)	87	8
Work-study programs for students uninterested in school (1974)	86	9
Job-training programs (1975)	86	11
State board exams for teacher certification (1979)	85	9
Periodic testing to retain certification (1979)	85	10
Parents confer with school personnel at start of each semester (1980)	84	11
Special schools to teach English to immigrants (1980)	82	13
Computers for instruction (1983)	81	10
Evening classes to teach parents how to help child in school (1971)	81	13
(1976)	77	19
Moral/ethical education (1975)	79	15
(1980)	79	16
(1981)	70	17
Retaining teachers on performance, not seniority (1981)	78	17
Constitutional amendment to permit prayer in public schools (1974)	77	17
Early graduation (1980)	77	19
(1977)	74	22
High school credit for volunteer work by students not interested in school (1974)	77	17
Grade promotion only if student can pass test (1983)	75	20
(1978)	68	27
Standardized national tests to compare local with other students (1970)	75	18
(1983)	75	17
(1971)	70	21
Compulsory national service for unemployed youth (1979)	67	27
Nongraded (continuous progress) schools (1972)	71	22
(1975)	64	28
(1980)	62	30
Constitutional amendment to equalize per-pupil spending (1974)	66	22
Standardized national test for high school graduation (1976)	65	31
Sex education (1970)	65	28
(1981) high school	70	22
(1981) elementary	45	48
Job placement by schools for recent graduates (1980)	64	30
Alternative schools (1973)	62	26
Girls participating with boys in noncontact sports (1974)	59	35
Merit pay for teachers (1981)	58	36

*See Bernarr S. Furse, "Merit Pay Is Feasible and — Sometimes — Desirable," *Phi Delta Kappan*, January 1961, pp. 143-47.

Suggested Change	Approve %	Disapprove %
Fundamental (back-to-basics) schools (1975) (1977)	57 34*	33 5*
Schools without walls (1972)	56	34
Out-of-school (action) learning (1972)	56	35
Year of internship for teachers at half pay before certification (1980)	56	36
Year-round schools (1972) (1970)	53 42	41 49
Constitutional amendment to permit government financial aid to parochial schools (1974)	52**	35**
Mainstreaming for the physically handicapped (1979)	53	36
Higher pay for math, science teachers than for others (1983)	50	35
Extending scope of negotiations beyond wages and hours (1976)	52	39
Performance contracting (1971)	49	28
Preschool child care as part of public school system (1981) (1976)	46 46	47 49
Voucher system (1970) (1971)	43 38	46 44
More money for instruction of students with learning problems than for average students (1982)	42	52
Extend school year by 30 days (1983) (1982)	40 37	49 53
Lengthen school day by one hour (1983) (1982)	41 37	48 55
Live-in boarding schools (1976)	39	50
Value-added tax (national sales tax) to reduce property tax (1972)	34	51
Start school at age 4 (1972) (1973)	32 30	64 64
Conduct vocational education outside of the public school system (1978)	32	53
More independent study (1971)	31	22
More money for instruction of gifted and talented than for average students (1982)	19	75
Constitutional amendment to prohibit forced busing for integration (1974)	18	72
Open schools (1975)	13†	10†
Mainstreaming for the mentally handicapped (1979)	13	77

*In the 1977 poll only 41% of the respondents had heard of the term "back-to-basics." Of these respondents, 83% approved of the concept and 11% disapproved, resulting in the low percentages above.

**But in 1981, when asked whether some government tax money should be used to help parochial schools, only 40% of respondents favored the idea, and 51% opposed it.

†Sixty percent of the respondents didn't know what was meant by "open" schools.

attitudes toward the public schools in general. Presto! In 1981 Gallup discovered a sizable difference here also: 9% of respondents gave an A and 27% a B to local schools; only 2% gave an A and 18% a B to "public schools in the nation as a whole." Without xenophobia, chauvinism, and a bad national press, would cumulative ratings have been the same for both questions, as logic suggests?

In interpreting poll results, one should also be aware of the fact that great differences exist in the intensity with which people hold various opinions. Take the Department of Education question in 1981, for example. Because Ronald Reagan had indicated during his Presidential campaign that the new department was not needed, Gallup asked this question: "Two years ago a new Department of Education was established in the federal government in Washington, D.C. The present Administration now says such a department is not needed and that its functions should be performed by a smaller agency or by other departments of the government. Do you agree or disagree with this view?" Forty-nine percent of the respondents agreed, 29% disagreed, and 22% held no opinion. (Note, incidentally, that Gallup found it necessary to provide information before asking this question and that he hoped to avoid political bias by saying "Administration" rather than "Reagan.") I suspect that opinions on this issue were very lightly held; many respondents were no doubt more strongly influenced by their favorable attitudes toward Reagan than by any knowledge of or convictions about the issue.*

Pursuing this theme, it is instructive to note that 57% of the respondents in 1975 approved back-to-basics schools and only 33% opposed them (Table 1). But in 1977, before requesting an opinion, Gallup asked respondents whether they were familiar with the phrase "back-to-basics"; 57% confessed ignorance. Among those who claimed familiarity there was strong approval for back-to-basics schools, but this group did not constitute an overall majority. The same ignorance factor showed up in the question on open schools, asked in 1975 (see Table 1).

EVEN "SCIENTIFIC" polling has its critics, of course. One of the most sympathetic yet probing critics of the Gallup education polls is Vernon Smith, an Indiana University education professor who now serves as book review editor for the *Kappan*. Smith wrote the first chapter in a 1977 Phi Delta Kappa

*Answers to a related question asked in 1977 support this view. In that year 40% favored taking education out of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare and making it a separate department.

ORIGINS OF THE POLL AND HOW IT WORKS

IF YOU HAD A sizable private fortune, would you study for a teaching certificate and specialize in counseling and guidance? Would you give a quarter of a million dollars for the legal defense of Chicago's largest youth gang, the Black P. Stone Nation? Would you devote a considerable portion of your fortune to the improvement of education?

The late Charles F. Kettering II did all of these things.

Like his grandfather, the legendary inventor, auto tycoon, and one-time country schoolteacher, young Charles had a consuming curiosity.* But it did not lead him, as it did his grandfather, to build improved machines to serve humankind. Instead, it drove him to consider ways in which humankind itself can be improved. The grandson thought this transformation could be accomplished by proper education. Thus, when he became dissatisfied with the way the Charles F. Kettering Foundation of Dayton, Ohio, spent its money, he set up his own foundation, strictly to support education-related programs, and based it in Denver.

During its brief existence, CFK Ltd., the new foundation, developed three important education projects. One provided collegial inservice education for teams of school administrators throughout the nation. (Kettering had himself earned a master's degree in education at the University of Colorado after earning a B.A. in social studies at Dartmouth.) Another was a program for the improvement of school climate, a term coined by the foundation staff. (A book on the topic, written by Edward A. Brainard for Phi Delta Kappa, was a best seller in the Seventies.)

The third project was the annual Gallup poll of attitudes toward education, inaugurated in 1969.

When Kettering set up CFK Ltd., he asked Brainard, then director of the grants division of the Kettering Foundation, to serve as its president. Brainard's heart was in research. He was the former director of research and evaluation for the schools of Jefferson County outside of Denver, and while with the Kettering Foundation he saw to it that nearly \$70,000 of the foundation's money went to Phi Delta Kappa in 1966 to set up a new research division at the Bloomington, Indiana, headquarters.

Brainard and Kettering were about the same age, and they worked well together. At one of their CFK Ltd. planning sessions, Brainard suggested that they ask George Gallup, Sr., then a member of the Kettering Foundation Board of Trustees, what he thought of the idea of an annual education poll. No sooner said than done.

As it turned out, Gallup proved to be at least as enthusiastic about education as the two young foundation executives. He had been a university professor himself before pioneering the development of scientific polling in the 1930s. Several members of his immediate family were also teachers. So the senior Gallup (two sons help with the business) quoted CFK Ltd. a ridiculously low figure for conducting the poll. Gallup has devoted a great deal of his time to the poll ever since; he insists on analyzing and presenting the annual results of the survey himself — on one occasion even performing this chore while hospitalized with a broken leg. Five years ago he helped Phi Delta Kappa develop its PACE (Polling Attitudes of the Community on Education) materials for surveying local education sentiment — and charged nothing for the service.*

My own involvement with the Gallup polls began when I summarized the first poll for the November 1969 *Kappan*. Shortly thereafter, Brainard asked whether Phi Delta Kappa would be interested in publishing the entire text of the next survey in this journal, which then had a circulation of about 80,000 (it is now 140,000). I said yes, and the Gallup poll has been an annual *Kappan* feature ever since.

*The first Charles F. Kettering wondered, for example, why grass is green. To find out, he set up a unit of the C.F. Kettering Foundation at Antioch College in nearby Yellow Springs to study chlorophyll and photosynthesis.

Unfortunately, Charles Kettering II did not live to see the education poll become a national institution. He died in December 1971. Trying to rescue the family dog from being run down by a car, he himself was hit and fatally injured. He had just celebrated his fortieth birthday.

Two and one-half years later, CFK Ltd. completed its program and was discontinued. For a time it looked as if the poll might die for lack of funds. But Brainard and B. Frank Brown, the innovative Florida educator then directing the Institute for Development of Educational Activities (/I/D/E/A/) for the Kettering Foundation, were determined to save it. Brainard went to the Ford Foundation and obtained funding for one year. The next year the Kettering Foundation offered to pick up the tab and continued doing so until 1981, when declining income forced retrenchment. At this point Phi Delta Kappa, with a grant from the Lilly Endowment, stepped in as sponsor as well as publisher. For the first time this year, Phi Delta Kappa is bearing the full cost of the poll, which is something over \$40,000.

A GALLUP EDUCATION survey begins in November of the year preceding publication of the results. Some 200 members of Phi Delta Kappa and a number of education writers, legislators, and other interested individuals are invited to submit ideas for questions. These ideas are compiled and classified in December. They then go to a 10- to 15-member panel that meets with Gallup and members of his staff in January to discuss them. The panel is typically composed of school superintendents, principals, teachers, state commissioners of education, board members, state legislators, parents, and other laypeople who have demonstrated a strong interest in education.

Gallup takes all of their ideas back to the Gallup Organization offices in Princeton, New Jersey (or to his winter home in the Bahamas). Within six to eight weeks he has framed more than 60 questions based on these new ideas and suggestions. Along with perhaps 25 questions from past polls, the new questions are studied by the Phi Delta Kappa professional staff, which sends its recommendations back to Gallup. Many of the new questions must be field tested, and this is done in March or early April. The final list of perhaps 40 questions goes to Gallup's 300-plus interviewers throughout the country, and polling is completed in two days. The returns are processed by computer in Princeton, and Gallup analyzes the findings in June. *Kappan* staff members get the final report in mid-July, when they edit and illustrate it for publication. The presses roll in mid-August, and readers receive the September *Kappan* just as schools are opening for the fall term.

Brainard, who is now assistant superintendent of schools in Aurora, Colorado, a Denver suburb, refuses to take credit for the poll. He insists that its originator was Charles F. Kettering II. However, he was happy to comment on the occasion of the poll's birthday. His words include a warning:

"The original purpose of the poll was to obtain information for public school educators — information that would help them better serve their students and their communities. That is why we asked the *Kappan*, as a leading education journal, to publish each year's study in its entirety. Many school districts have used poll questions to conduct local surveys, sometimes comparing their findings with the national data. Phi Delta Kappa has published excellent materials to show districts how to do this.

"In more recent years the surveys have had wider visibility. Of course, they continue to be used by educators for school improvement, but they are also being used by others for other purposes. The original intent remains important, and I hope the poll sponsors continue to keep it uppermost in their minds."—SME

fastback titled *What the People Think About Their Schools: Gallup's Findings*. (In fact, the two major tables in this article are extensions of work Smith did for the 1977 fastback.) He suggested that the cumulative message of the first polls (1969 through 1976) was "dramatically different from news stories and editorials that come out of the annual results and somewhat different from Gallup's own annual interpretation." The comment applies just as aptly to all 15 polls.

Smith also observed that "the poll's most irritating characteristic and its greatest strength is that it raises more questions and issues than it answers." This is inevitable, of course, in a poll that covers a wide variety of topics in 30-minute interviews. One must recognize the limitations of any poll of this type. Unfortunately, some educators seem to expect the poll to answer troubling professional questions: What are the purposes of public K-12 education? Do these purposes

change quickly? What are the best teaching methods? How can we maintain high standards and program balance when there are pressures to accomplish so many different things? How can educational standards be improved without excessive cost increases? The poll is unlikely to give definitive answers to such questions, but it sometimes provides provocative clues, if one accepts the proposition that, in a democracy, the will of the public defines what is right and good.

A study of "benchmark" questions in the poll — questions asked repeatedly over the last 15 years — suggests considerably greater stability in public attitudes toward the schools than one would infer from the annual analyses. Look, for example, at Table 2, which lists the "major problems" that people identify in their local public schools, in response to an open-ended question. Only those problems that have been mentioned by at least 10% of respondents in at least one annual

poll are reported here.* The same problem areas tend to appear in about the same sequence every year. The high point for the leading problem, "lack of discipline," occurred in 1982, when 27% of all respondents mentioned it. That figure is not significantly higher than the low point that was reached in 1976, when 22% of the respondents identified discipline as a problem.

Despite this general consistency, minor trends in public opinion about school problems can be traced. For example, racial integration was uppermost in the minds of many respondents for several years. In fact, respondents identified integration as the second leading problem in seven of the first nine polls. Since 1978, however, integration has been mentioned by fewer and fewer respondents; this year only 5% identified it as a problem. What

*The one exception is "teachers' lack of interest," which reaches the 10% level when added to "teachers."

Table 2. Items Most Frequently Cited as Biggest Problems of the Local Public Schools (In Percentages)

1969		1970		1971		1972	
1. Discipline	26	1. Discipline	18	1. Finances	23	1. Discipline	23
2. Facilities	22	2. Integration	17	2. Integration	21	2. Finances	19
3. Teachers	17	3. Finances	17	3. Discipline	14	3. Integration	18
4. Finances	14	4. Teachers	12	4. Facilities	13	4. Teachers	14
5. Integration	13	5. Facilities	11	5. Drugs	12	5. Facilities	5
		6. Drugs	11	6. Teachers	6		
1973		1974		1975		1976	
1. Discipline	22	1. Discipline	23	1. Discipline	23	1. Discipline	22
2. Integration	18	2. Integration	16	2. Integration/ busing*	15	2. Integration/ busing	15
3. Finances	16	3. Finances	13	3. Finances	14	3. Finances	14
4. Teachers	13	4. Drugs	13	4. Teachers	11	4. Poor curriculum	14
5. Drugs	10	5. Teachers	11	5. Size of school/ classes	10	5. Drugs	11
				6. Drugs	9	6. Teachers	11
1977		1978		1979		1980	
1. Discipline	26	1. Discipline	25	1. Discipline	24	1. Discipline	26
2. Integration/ busing	13	2. Drugs**	13	2. Drugs	13	2. Drugs	14
3. Finances	12	3. Finances	13	3. Finances	12	3. Curriculum/ standards	11
4. Teachers	11	4. Integration/ busing	13	4. Curriculum/ standards	11	4. Finances	10
5. Curriculum	10	5. Curriculum/ standards†	12	5. Teachers	10	5. Integration/ busing	10
6. Drugs	7	6. Teachers	9	6. Integration/ busing	9	6. Size of school/classes	7
						7. Teachers‡	6
1981		1982		1983			
1. Discipline	23	1. Discipline	27	1. Discipline	25		
2. Drugs	15	2. Finances	22	2. Drugs	18		
3. Curriculum/ standards	14	3. Drugs	20	3. Curriculum/ standards	14		
4. Finances	12	4. Curriculum/ standards	11	4. Finances	13		
5. Teachers	11	5. Teachers	10	5. Teachers	8		
6. Integration/busing	11	6. Teachers' lack of interest	7	6. Teachers' lack of interest	8		

**"Forced busing for racial integration" became a focus of concern in this and following years.

***"Alcohol" began to be listed as a separate problem in 1978 and was usually mentioned by 1% to 3% of the respondents thereafter.

†"Poor standards" was added to "curriculum" in 1978 and thereafter.

‡If one adds "teachers' lack of interest" (6%), this ranks third with 12%.

does this mean? Certainly not that the schools are now successfully integrated. Perhaps it means that early hopes for the schools as society's tool for integrating the races have evaporated and that, in a period of diminished enthusiasm for reform, people are ready to abandon the 25-year experiment.

"Drugs/dope/alcohol" took the place of integration as a major concern, ranking second from 1978 through 1981. Then, in 1982, lack of adequate financing, which had ranked as the foremost problem only in the 1971 poll, suddenly rose once again — this time to the second position (with 22% of the respondents mentioning it). This year it dropped to fourth. It is also worth noting that "poor curriculum," which ranked far down the list in the polls from 1969 through 1975, began to rise as a concern in 1976. Beginning in 1978, Gallup combined "poor curriculum" with "poor standards" (without explaining why the two make appropriate bedfellows), and since then at least 10% of poll respondents have consistently listed this combination as a major school problem.

THE ANNUAL listing of problems has come in for its share of criticism over the years. Some observers question why this "negative" question should come first and be repeated every year. One unfortunate result, they say, is that newspaper accounts tend to dwell on disciplinary problems in the schools.* This critical press coverage of education has generated several poll questions, some of them aimed at discovering what the public means by "discipline" and others aimed at eliciting more positive responses.

A question that was asked in 1971, 1972, 1973, and 1977 is an example of the latter: "In your opinion, in what ways are your local public schools particularly good?" To the surprise of few educators, this other side of the coin was brighter. In 1971, when "finances" ranked first among major problems (mentioned by 23% of all respondents), "teachers" were the aspect of public schools regarded as "particularly good" by the greatest number (21%), and "curriculum" came next (mentioned by 15%). By 1972 these positions were reversed: curriculum ranked first, mentioned by 21% of the respondents, and "teachers" ranked second, mentioned by 19%. Other school factors that respondents saw as "particularly good" in 1972 included even discipline (although only 2% of the respondents mentioned it). Both "equal opportunities for all" and

"good facilities" were suggested by 8% of the 1972 respondents.

It should be noted that 2% to 5% of respondents have said every year that "there are no problems" and 6% to 9% have regularly said that there is "nothing good" about their schools. Regarding school problems, from 10% to 18% of the respondents have always said that they don't know, or they have given no answer at all. Regarding school factors that are "particularly good," the "don't know/no answer" category has accounted for 27% to 33% of all respondents in any given year.

It is appropriate at this point to report answers to a question asked in 1969 and again this year: "How much do you know about the local public schools — quite a lot, some, very little?" The results:

	1969	1983
	%	%
Quite a lot	18	22
Some	40	42
Very little	42	29
Nothing	—	7

The modesty of these answers is surprising in view of the willingness of most people to reply to questions that assume the possession of specific information about the schools. (Note that "nothing" was not even offered as a reply to this question.)

The poll frequently reveals ignorance, as we have already seen. Another example comes from the 1979 poll, when Gallup asked people to estimate the average annual cost of educating a student in the public schools. Only one person in eight claimed to know the cost, and, of these, fewer than 10% were within \$200 of the correct figure. Most were wildly wrong. It seems fair to say that a great many answers to poll questions are based not on a fund of sound knowledge but chiefly on generalized, nonspecific attitudes. In the main, these attitudes were formed during some of the most impressionable years of life, while the respondents were themselves attending school.

There are obvious lessons for educators in the ignorance phenomenon. Every poll has made clear the need for a constant flow of information to the public from the schools, using every available medium. This flow is particularly necessary at the present time, when the number of voters with children in school is at its lowest ebb in a generation.

RETURNING FOR a moment to the question on major problems in the local schools, it is fascinating to observe the difference between the responses given by educators and those given by laypeople. In 1972, for the first

Every poll has made clear the need for a constant flow of information to the public from the schools, using every available medium. This flow is particularly necessary today.

and only time, Gallup's polling sample included, among 1,790 adults, 270 educators: teachers, principals, assistant principals, and superintendents. These professionals ranked "inadequate finances" as the major problem of their local schools (mentioned by 35%). "Integration/segregation" was second (23%); "discipline," third (20%); "parents' lack of interest," fourth (18%); and "teachers," fifth (13%).

Why do educators regard discipline as a less important problem than do laypeople? No doubt the reason is that educators recognize poor discipline as only a symptom. Just as doctors know that fever is the body's reaction to any one of several disease agents, educators tend to view student misbehavior as an indicator of such problems as an unsatisfactory home life, inappropriate teaching methods, poorly designed curricula, overcrowding, inadequate facilities, parents' lack of interest,* or some combination thereof. Since many of these problems can't be addressed successfully without increased expenditures, educators rate finances as the primary problem. They resent a half-truth dear to the hearts of conservative politicians and shortsighted taxpayers: "School problems can't be solved by throwing money at them." They recognize that, by and large, the people will get the kind of schools they are willing to pay for.

*Eighteen percent of educators polled in 1972 mentioned "parents' lack of interest" as a major problem, compared with only 8% of the total sample. This makes a telling comment on the subjectivity of perceptions. However, it should be noted in this connection that lay respondents have repeatedly laid more blame for poor discipline and disappointing academic achievement on the home than on teachers and schools.

*Vernon Smith, in the fastback I have cited, asks why Gallup should not put findings this way: "Eighty percent of the public does not regard discipline as an important problem in the public schools this year."

Educators and thoughtful laypeople alike are properly disturbed by an opinion trend revealed by the second question Gallup has asked for 10 consecutive years: "What grade would you give the schools here — A, B, C, D, or Fail?" Each year between 1974 and 1980, fewer respondents gave their schools a rating of A or B. The downward drift was slow but inexorable. Whereas 18% gave A ratings in 1974, only 8% did so in 1979. Then for a three-year span — 1980 through 1982 — the trendline seemed to stabilize, even to climb slightly, only to register an all-time low this year. In 1983, 31% of Gallup's respondents gave their schools an A or a B, whereas in 1974 a healthy 48% did so. The percentage giving D's and F's has grown from 11 in 1974 to an average of 20 over the past three years.

No one can say with certainty that this slow 10-year downswing in approval reflects a reduction in public school quality. There are other explanations. Nevertheless, the downswing in approval is real, and we must keep asking why.

At least as ominous as the declining ratings of schools are the changing answers to a question asked of parents in four polls: "Would you like to have a child of yours take up teaching in the public schools as a career?" The responses:

	1969	1972	1980	1983
	%	%	%	%
Yes	75	67	48	45
No	15	22	40	33
Don't know/ no answer	10	11	12	22

One can assign the 30-point drop in "yes" responses over this 15-year period to a variety of interrelated factors: the disappearance of general and serious teacher shortages (only beginning to reappear); broadening career opportunities for women, who still constitute nearly 70% of the U.S. K-12 teaching force (parents were once almost universally in favor of their daughters teaching — at least until they married); presumed changes for the worse in the attitudes and behavior of students (accounting in part for a phenomenon the public recognizes as teacher burnout); a decline in the already marginal purchasing power of teachers; and a worsening press for education generally. Why the recent increase in the "don't know/no answer" response category? Perhaps because, with unemployment rising, people are beginning to wonder whether teaching, even with its many drawbacks, may not offer greater security than other careers. So speculation blossoms. Again the poll has raised more questions than it answers. But the above figures seem to confirm the fact that the public is increasingly disen-

chanted with the public schools. The causes are far too complex to consider in detail here. However, it needs to be said that, in periods of national disappointment and frustration, people tend to make a scapegoat of the schools. Schools may be getting more than their share of the blame for recent economic, social, and political ills.

THIS IS THE dark side of Gallup's findings. There is a bright side. People remain convinced that education is absolutely essential to individual success and therefore to the success of society as a whole. On three occasions Gallup has asked: "How important are schools to one's future success — extremely important, fairly important, not too important?" The results:

	1973	1980	1982
	%	%	%
Extremely important	76	82	80
Fairly important	19	15	18
Not too important	4	2	1
No opinion	1	1	1

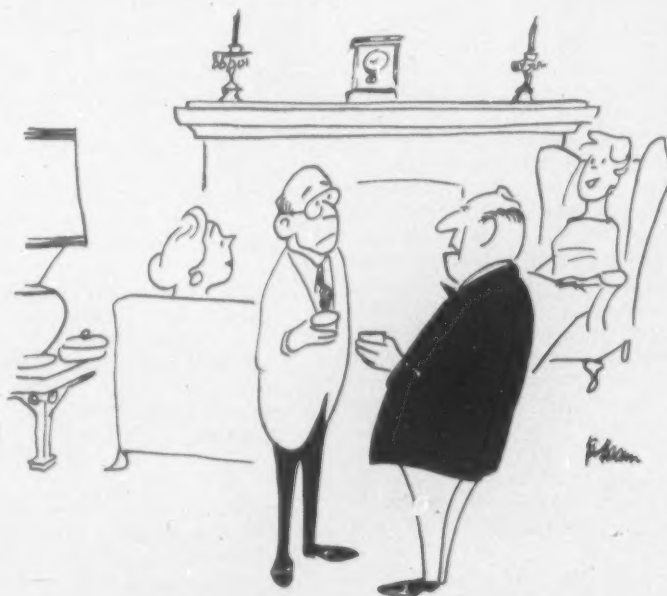
Obviously, the overwhelming faith of the American public in the power of education has not diminished over the past decade.* People remain convinced that the schools, if only they are better organized or staffed or supported, can somehow take on any task.

*A similar question was asked about college education in 1978 and again this year. Belief that college is "extremely important" to success grew from 36% in 1978 to 58% today.

In fact, this is part of the problem; the public has shifted or tried to shift too many problems to the schools, and educators have been unwilling or unable to resist. In this connection it is instructive to examine answers to a question Gallup asked in 1980: "How much confidence do you, yourself, have in these American institutions to serve the public's needs?" Among eight institutions listed, respondents placed public schools second only to the church.

Then why, one asks, isn't the public willing to leave moral and ethical instruction to the church, since morality and ethics would seem to be the church's prime concern? Why do people favor, four to one, having the schools take on this herculean task? For the same reason, one supposes, that the public believes that America's strength in the future depends on developing the best educational system in the world. (Eighty-four percent of 1982 respondents said that this is "very important," while only 47% regarded "building the strongest military force in the world" as very important.)

The very fact that many people view their schools as inadequate to meet today's needs gives rise to the hope that support for significant improvement will be forthcoming in the years immediately ahead. Properly conceived, the combination of strong public faith in education as the answer to society's ills, willingness to accept change in the schools (as shown in Table 2), and the current crises in education constitute a magnificent opportunity. Will it be so conceived by America's education leaders? □



"When it comes to apathy, I just don't care."

THE 15TH ANNUAL GALLUP POLL OF THE PUBLIC'S ATTITUDES TOWARD THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS

by George H. Gallup

THE FIRST annual Gallup Poll of the Public's Attitudes Toward the Public Schools was summarized in the November 1969 *Kappan* (pp. 128 and 157). A full (100-page) report, *How the Nation Views the Public Schools*, was published by I/D/E/AJ, the education arm of the Kettering Foundation. Since then, the *Kappan* has had the privilege of initial full publication of the annual reports.

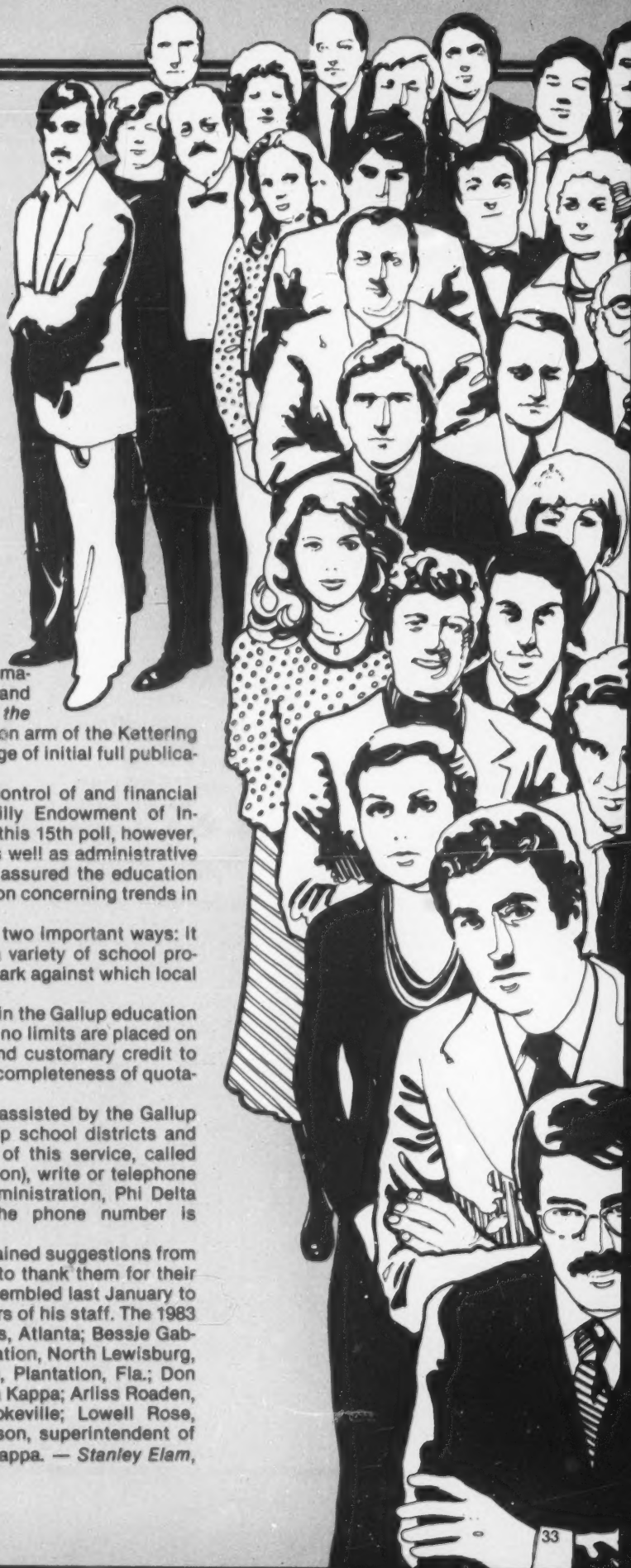
Beginning in 1981, Phi Delta Kappa has had full control of and financial responsibility for the project. For two years the Lilly Endowment of Indianapolis helped with generous grants. Starting with this 15th poll, however, the fraternity has assumed the full financial burden as well as administrative control. The Phi Delta Kappa Board of Directors has assured the education community of a continuing source of reliable information concerning trends in opinion about significant school questions.

For school officials, the poll is valuable in at least two important ways: It alerts decision makers to overall public reaction to a variety of school programs and policies, and it serves as a national benchmark against which local attitudes can be measured.

Local officials are welcome to use questions asked in the Gallup education surveys. The questions are not copyrighted. Moreover, no limits are placed on the use of information contained in this report, beyond customary credit to source and observance of the canons of accuracy and completeness of quotation.

In 1980 Phi Delta Kappa's Dissemination Division, assisted by the Gallup Organization, prepared a package of materials to help school districts and other agencies survey local populations. For details of this service, called PACE (Polling Attitudes of the Community on Education), write or telephone Wilmer Bugher, associate executive secretary for administration, Phi Delta Kappa, P.O. Box 789, Bloomington, IN 47402. The phone number is 812/339-1156.

In preparing for this year's poll, Phi Delta Kappa obtained suggestions from nearly 100 educators and education writers. We wish to thank them for their cooperation. We are also grateful to the panel that assembled last January to discuss poll questions with George Gallup and members of his staff. The 1983 panel included Alonzo Crim, superintendent of schools, Atlanta; Bessie Gabbard, chairperson, Phi Delta Kappa Educational Foundation, North Lewisburg, O.; Nell Lewis, principal, Tropical Elementary School, Plantation, Fla.; Don Park, associate executive secretary, program, Phi Delta Kappa; Arliss Roaden, president, Tennessee Technological University, Cookeville; Lowell Rose, executive secretary, Phi Delta Kappa; and Ray Tobiasson, superintendent of Puyallup, Wash., schools and president of Phi Delta Kappa. — Stanley Elam, coordinator, Gallup-Phi Delta Kappa Education Poll.



Purpose of the Study

THIS SURVEY, which measures the attitudes of Americans toward their public schools, is the 15th annual survey in this series. Funding for this survey was provided by Phi Delta Kappa, Inc. Each year the poll attempts to deal with issues of greatest concern both to educators and to the public. New as well as trend questions are included in this and every survey.

To be sure that the survey would embrace the most important issues in the field of education, Phi Delta Kappa organized a meeting of various leaders in the field of education to discuss their ideas, evaluate proposed questions, and suggest new questions for the survey.

We wish to thank all those who contributed their ideas to this survey.

Research Procedure

The Sample. The sample used in this survey embraced a total of 1,540 adults (18 years of age and older). It is described as a modified probability sample of the United States. Personal, in-home interviewing was conducted in all areas of the U.S. and in all types of communities. A description of the sample can be found at the end of this report.

Time of Interviewing. The fieldwork for this study was carried out during the period of 13-22 May 1983.

The Report. In the tables that follow, the heading "Nonpublic School Parents" includes parents of students who attend parochial schools and parents of students who attend private or independent schools.

Due allowance must be made for statistical variation, especially in the case of findings for small groups in

which relatively few respondents were interviewed, e.g., nonpublic school parents.

The findings of this report apply only to the U.S. as a whole and not to individual communities. Local surveys, using the same questions, can be conducted to determine how local areas compare with the national norm.

Impact of the Report of the President's Commission on Excellence in Education

This year's survey was conducted shortly after the report of the National Commission on Excellence in Education was released. Thus it was possible to obtain some indication of the initial reaction of the public to the report.

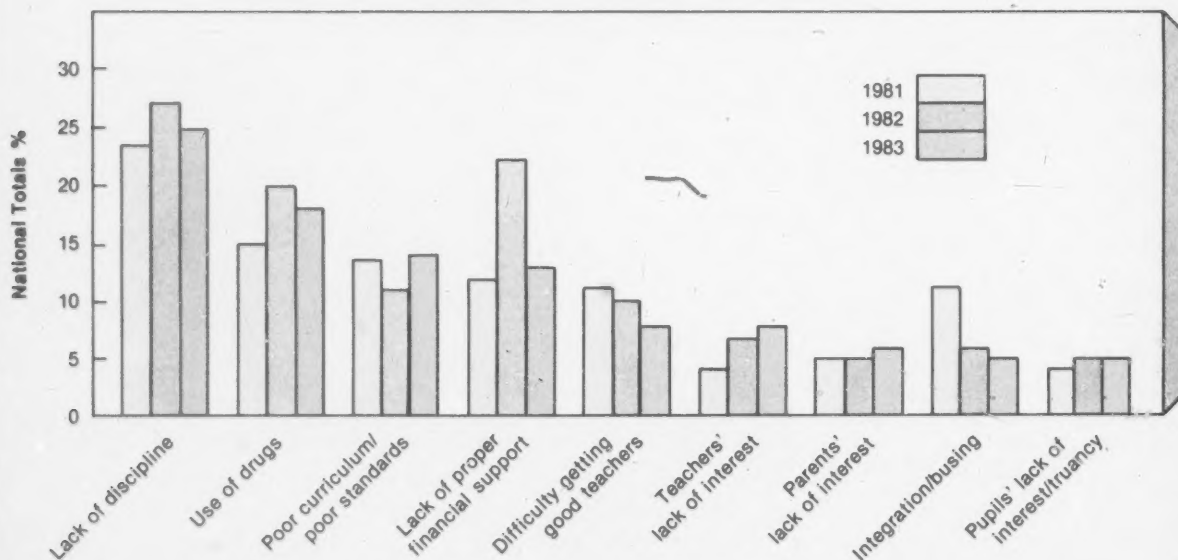
The survey results reflect only the first reactions of the public, however. The debate over the Commission's findings is sure to continue and may become part of the campaign rhetoric in the 1984 Presidential race.

At the time this survey was conducted, the Commission report was only two weeks old. At that time only 28% of those interviewed in the national sample had heard or read about the report. Of those, 79% could cite some of the facts and conclusions of the report. In short, at the time of the survey, the report had reached an audience of approximately one person in five in the U.S. adult population.

Examination of the survey results indicates that the Commission report had not substantially changed the views of the public about public education. One reason, perhaps, is that the public already agreed with many of the Commission's main conclusions.

The survey results that follow will point out how the views of those familiar with the report differ from the views of other groups in those instances in which the Commission report deals with issues covered in this survey.

Figure 1. Major Problems Confronting The Public Schools, 1981, 1982, and 1983



Major Problems Confronting the Public Schools in 1983

When respondents in this year's survey were asked to name the biggest problems facing their local public schools, the answers were quite similar to those recorded in earlier surveys. The top four problems cited continue to be "discipline," "use of drugs," "poor curriculum/poor standards," and "lack of proper financial support." Parents who have children now attending public schools cite the same four problems and in the same order as the public at large.

Although discipline continues to be regarded as the number one problem, the frequency with which other problems or concerns have been recorded has changed. For example, "Integration/busing" and "lack of proper facilities" were named frequently in earlier surveys; they are now far down the list of major concerns.

Because discipline is so frequently cited as a major problem in the public schools, this year's survey has sought to shed further light on underlying causes that may contribute to the perceived lack of discipline. These will be described later in this report.

Here is the question:

What do you think are the biggest problems with which the public schools in this community must deal?

	National Totals %	No Children In School %	Public School Parents %	Nonpublic School Parents %
Lack of discipline	25	23	29	31
Use of drugs	18	17	20	16
Poor curriculum/poor standards	14	14	14	19
Lack of proper financial support	13	12	17	8
Difficulty getting good teachers	8	8	9	7
Teachers' lack of interest	8	9	6	9
Parents' lack of interest	6	6	9	5
Integration/busing	5	6	8	4
Pupils' lack of interest/truancy	5	6	4	1
Moral standards	4	4	4	6
Drinking/alcoholism	3	3	4	5
Large schools/overcrowding	3	2	5	6
Lack of respect for teachers/other students	3	3	2	6
Mismanagement of funds	2	2	1	1
Problems with administration	1	2	1	-
Crime/vandalism	1	1	1	-
Teachers' strikes	1	1	1	6
Communication problems	1	1	2	1
Lack of proper facilities	1	1	1	3
Parental involvement with school activities	1	1	1	1
Lack of needed teachers	1	1	2	1
Fighting	1	1	-	1
Non-English-speaking students	1	1	1	-
Government interference	1	1	-	1
There are no problems	1	1	3	1
Miscellaneous	2	2	3	3
Don't know/no answer	16	19	7	15

(Figures add to more than 100% because of multiple answers.)

*Less than one-half of 1%.

1983 Rating of the Public Schools

The public's rating of the local public schools in 1983 follows the downward trend reported in the years since 1974, when this question was instituted. In 1974, 48% gave local public schools a rating of A or B. This year, the comparable figure is 31%. (The 1974 ratings were: A, 18%; B, 30%; C, 21%; D, 6%; FAIL, 5%; and Don't know, 20%.)

More significant, perhaps, is the rating given their local public schools by parents with children attending public schools. In 1974, 64% of the parents gave the schools their children attended an A or B rating. This year, the comparable figure is 42%.

The question:

Students are often given the grades A, B, C, D, and FAIL to denote the quality of their work. Suppose the public schools themselves, in this community, were graded in the same way. What grade would you give the public schools here — A, B, C, D, or FAIL?

Ratings Given The Local Public Schools	National Totals								
	1983	1982	1981	1980	1979	1978	1977	1976	1975
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
A rating	8	8	9	10	8	9	11	13	13
B rating	25	29	27	25	26	27	26	29	30
C rating	32	33	34	29	30	30	28	28	28
D rating	13	14	13	12	11	11	11	10	9
FAIL	7	5	7	6	7	8	5	6	7
Don't know	17	11	10	18	18	15	19	14	13

By Adults with:	Rating of the Local Public Schools					
	A %	B %	C %	D %	FAIL %	Don't Know %
Children in public schools	11	31	36	10	7	5
Children in nonpublic schools	5	22	24	23	9	17
No children in school	5	23	31	13	6	22

Further breakdowns:

	Rating of the Local Public Schools					
	A %	B %	C %	D %	FAIL %	Don't Know %
NATIONAL TOTALS	6	25	32	13	7	17
Sex						
Men	7	26	33	13	7	14
Women	6	24	31	14	6	19
Race						
White	7	26	33	12	6	16
Nonwhite	4	18	26	19	9	23
Age						
18 - 29 years	3	24	40	16	6	9
30 - 49 years	7	26	34	14	8	11
50 and over	9	24	24	9	5	29
Community Size						
1 million and over	5	20	36	15	7	17
500,000 - 999,999	10	20	29	17	6	18
50,000 - 499,999	7	25	30	15	8	15
2,500 - 49,999	8	29	34	6	5	16
Under 2,500	5	27	32	12	6	18
Central city	5	20	32	16	10	17
Education						
Grade school	6	28	16	5	7	38
High school	8	21	36	14	7	14
College	5	28	33	15	6	13
Region						
East	7	24	30	13	8	18
Midwest	9	27	34	11	5	14
South	7	25	30	12	6	20
West	2	21	36	18	8	15

Rating of Public Schools Nationally

Respondents in the survey gave their local schools higher ratings than they gave the public schools nationwide.

It appears that the report of the National Commission on Excellence in Education had some influence on the ratings of the public schools nationally. Those respondents who were familiar with the findings of the report were more critical of U.S. schools than was the public at large.*

Only 12% of the group familiar with the Commission report gave the public schools nationally a rating of A or B; at the same time, 30% gave them a rating of D or Fail. By contrast, 19% of the general public gave the schools a rating of A or B, and 22% gave them a rating of D or Fail.

The question:

How about the public schools in the nation as a whole? What grade would you give the public schools nationally — A, B, C, D, or FAIL?

	A %	B %	C %	D %	FAIL %	Don't Know %
Public schools in this community	6	25	32	13	7	17
Public schools in the nation	2	17	38	16	6	21

*One must also consider the possibility that those individuals who are already strongly critical of the schools would be more likely than others to pay attention to media reports that say that "the educational foundations of our society are presently being eroded by a rising tide of mediocrity...."

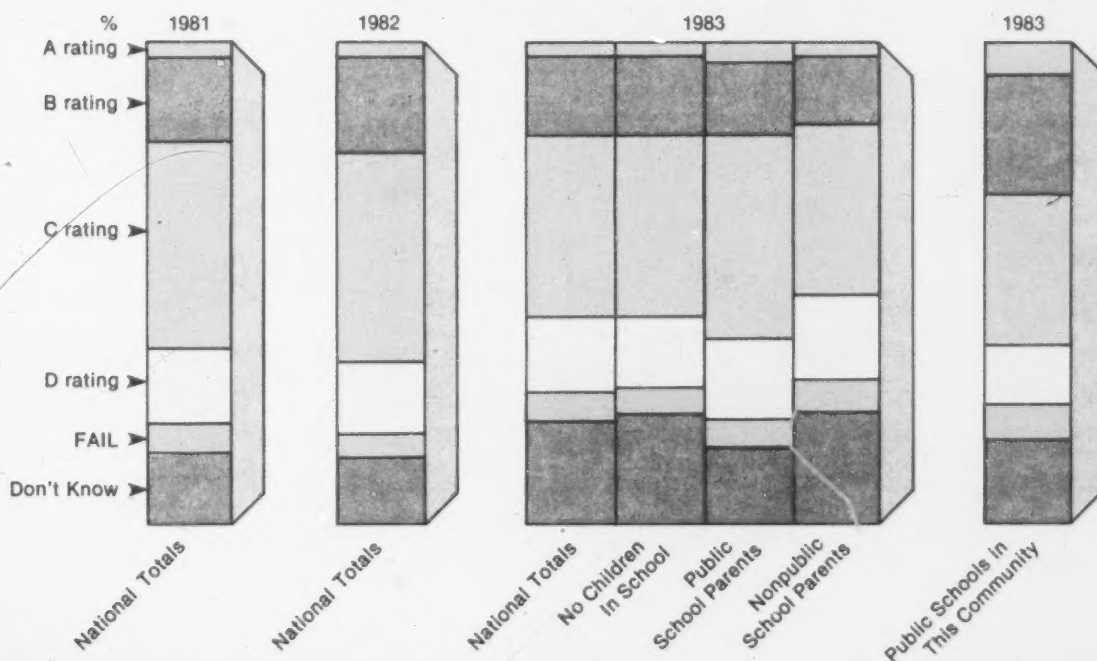
	National Totals %	No Children In School %	Public School Parents %	Nonpublic School Parents %
A rating	2	2	3	2
B rating	17	17	18	14
C rating	38	38	42	35
D rating	16	15	17	18
FAIL	6	6	6	7
Don't know	21	22	16	24

	Public Schools in the Nation		
	1983 %	1982 %	1981 %
A rating	2	2	2
B rating	17	20	18
C rating	38	44	43
D rating	16	15	15
FAIL	6	4	6
Don't know	21	15	16

Further breakdowns:

	Public Schools in the Nation					
	A %	B %	C %	D %	FAIL %	Don't Know %
NATIONAL TOTALS	2	17	38	16	6	21
Sex						
Men	3	15	38	17	7	20
Women	2	18	39	15	5	21
Race						
White	2	16	40	17	6	19
Nonwhite	4	20	32	8	6	30
Age						
18 - 29 years	2	26	42	15	4	11
30 - 49 years	2	13	43	18	7	17
50 and over	4	14	32	13	6	31
Community Size						
1 million and over	2	19	38	14	5	22
500,000 - 999,999	3	11	44	20	5	17
50,000 - 499,999	2	15	41	15	7	20

Figure 2. Rating of Public Schools Nationally



Public Schools in the Nation

	A %	B %	C %	D %	FAIL %	Don't Know %
2,500 - 49,999	3	20	39	13	7	18
Under 2,500	2	18	34	17	6	23
Central city	2	15	39	15	7	22
Education						
Grade school	6	16	21	11	4	42
High school	3	20	37	14	6	20
College	1	12	48	19	6	14
Region						
East	3	17	39	13	7	21
Midwest	2	16	41	17	7	17
South	3	19	34	15	4	25
West	1	15	41	20	5	18

How Parents of Public School Children Rate Various Aspects of Their Schooling

The consultants who planned the questions included in this year's survey thought that it would be instructive if parents of children in the public schools were to rate various aspects of their children's schooling, in addition to rating the schools overall. Listed here, in order of favorable votes (A and B), are the 11 aspects of schooling rated.

The question:

Using the A, B, C, D, and FAIL scale again, please grade the public schools in this community for each of the following.

	A %	B %	C %	D %	FAIL %	Don't Know %
The physical plants and facilities	30	35	21	5	2	7
The curriculum, that is, the subjects offered	24	37	25	4	3	7
The handling of extracurricular activities — sports, theater, etc.	20	33	26	8	4	9
Books and instructional materials	19	33	32	6	2	8
Quality of teaching	13	35	29	12	4	7
Education students get	14	32	29	15	4	6
The way schools are administered	11	28	29	17	8	7
Preparing students for college	12	26	27	17	4	14
The way discipline is handled	11	21	22	20	19	7
Preparing for jobs those students not planning to go to college	7	19	29	20	9	16
Behavior of students	5	19	27	19	22	8

Why Is There a Discipline Problem?

The problem of discipline continues to loom large in the public's mind. Thus, this year we attempted to find out who or what is chiefly to blame for the lack of discipline that the public says is a major problem in the local public schools. A card listing 11 reasons for a lack of discipline was handed to each respondent included in the survey.

The question:

Many people say that discipline is one of the major problems of the public schools today. Would you please look over this list and tell me which reasons you think are most important to explain why there is a discipline problem?

Those identified with the public schools can take comfort from the fact that the chief blame is laid on the

home, with disrespect for law and order throughout society ranking second in frequency of mention.

The percentage of votes given each of the 11 statements are as follows, listed according to frequency of mention:

1. Lack of discipline in the home (72%)
2. Lack of respect for law and authority throughout society (54%)
3. Students who are constant troublemakers often can't be removed from school (42%)
4. Some teachers are not properly trained to deal with discipline problems (42%)
5. The courts have made school administrators so cautious that they don't deal severely with student misbehavior (41%)
6. Viewing television programs that emphasize crime and violence (39%)
7. Punishment is too lenient (39%)
8. Decline in the teaching of good manners (37%)
9. Teachers themselves do not command respect (36%)
10. Failure on the part of teachers to make classroom work more interesting (31%)
11. One-parent families (26%)

Voting on Tax Increases

Although only a minority of the respondents (39%) say that they would vote to raise school taxes at this time, the report of the National Commission may help persuade more citizens to favor a tax increase. Those familiar with the report favor raising taxes by a margin of 48% to 46%.

The question:

Suppose the local public schools said they needed much more money. As you feel at this time, would you vote to raise taxes for this purpose, or would you vote against raising taxes for this purpose?

Financial Support of the Public Schools

	Favor Raising Taxes %	Opposed to Raising Taxes %	Don't Know %
NATIONAL RESULTS			
1983 survey	39	52	9
1981 survey	30	60	10
1972 survey	36	56	8
1971 survey	40	52	8
1970 survey	37	56	7
1969 survey	45	49	6

	Favor Raising Taxes %	Opposed to Raising Taxes %	Don't Know %
1983 Survey			
Parents of children attending public school	48	45	7
Parents of children attending nonpublic school	40	55	5
Adults with no children in school	36	53	11

Further breakdowns:

	Favor Raising Taxes %	Opposed to Raising Taxes %	Don't Know %
NATIONAL TOTALS	39	52	9
Sex			
Men	40	51	9
Women	37	53	10

	Favor Raising Taxes %	Opposed to Raising Taxes %	Don't Know %
Race			
White	37	54	9
Nonwhite	50	40	10
Age			
18 - 29 years	46	44	10
30 - 49 years	44	48	8
50 and over	28	62	10
Community Size			
1 million and over	38	51	11
500,000 - 999,999	50	42	8
50,000 - 499,999	44	48	8
2,500 - 49,999	31	59	10
Under 2,500	33	57	10
Central city	44	48	8
Education			
Grade school	24	70	6
High school	35	55	10
College	49	41	10
Region			
East	31	60	9
Midwest	35	57	8
South	40	48	12
West	53	36	8

The Voucher System

The idea of the voucher system — a plan whereby the federal government allots a certain amount of money for the education of each child, regardless of whether the child attends a public, parochial, or independent school — is favored today by a clear majority of the public (51% to 38%). Significantly, public school parents favor the voucher system by a margin of 48% to 41%.

The current support for the voucher system represents a substantial shift in the public's attitude. Between 1970 (when the question was first asked) and 1981, the idea elicited a mixed reception. In 1970 a slightly higher percentage opposed the idea than favored it. This was also true in 1971. In the 1981 survey those in favor held a slight majority over those opposed.

The question:

In some nations, the government allots a certain amount of money for each child for his or her education. The parents can then send the child to any public, parochial, or private school they choose. This is called the "voucher system." Would you like to see such an idea adopted in this country?

	National Totals %	No Children In School %	Public School Parents %	Nonpublic School Parents %
Favor voucher system	51	51	48	64
Oppose voucher system	38	37	41	30
No opinion	11	12	11	6

NATIONAL TOTALS	Favor %	Oppose %	No Opinion %
1970 survey	43	46	11
1971 survey	38	44	18
1981 survey	43	41	16
1983 survey	51	38	11

Promotion Based on Examinations

Promotion from grade to grade based on examinations and not "social" promotion is favored by a substantial majority of the survey respondents. This view is shared by parents of schoolchildren and by those who

have no children in school — and by almost the same percentages.

The question:

In your opinion, should children be promoted from grade to grade only if they can pass examinations?

	National Totals %	No Children In School %	Public School Parents %	Nonpublic School Parents %
Yes	75	75	73	71
No	20	19	23	27
Don't know	5	6	4	2
NATIONAL TOTALS		1983		1978
		%		%
Yes		75		68
No		20		27
Don't know		5		5

National Test Scores Used for Comparison Purposes

The results of the question about the use of national tests as a way of judging the local schools reveals the public's faith in tests and, at the same time, the public's desire to have another measure of the quality of education in their own local schools.

One important provision should be added, however. Earlier survey reports have pointed out that comparisons should take full account of the composition of the school population. Comparisons are only valid if the local school population reflects the national population. Schools that draw students from poor neighborhoods where parents have had little education and where language barriers exist obviously cannot be expected to achieve the same levels of test scores as schools in high-income communities.

The question:

Would you like to see the students in the local schools be given national tests, so that their educational achievement could be compared with students in other communities?

	National Totals %	No Children In School %	Public School Parents %	Nonpublic School Parents %
Yes	75	72	80	79
No	17	17	16	18
Don't know	8	11	4	3
NATIONAL TOTALS		1983		1971
		%		%
Yes		75		75
No		17		21
Don't know		8		9

Too Much or Too Little Schoolwork for Students?

Are students in elementary schools or high schools made to work too hard? Widespread agreement exists on this issue among parents of schoolchildren and those without children in the public schools.

Two-thirds of all respondents, in both the case of elementary school children and of high school students, agree that the workload given students is too light. An

earlier survey of students found that students themselves say that they are not given enough homework.

A significant change has been recorded since the 1975 survey when the same questions were asked of the public. At that time 49% said that students in elementary school were not required to work hard enough. In this year's survey the percentage has increased to 61%. In 1975, 54% said that high school students were not required to work hard enough; now that percentage is 65%.

The 1983 survey includes another question related to this issue. When respondents were asked if they thought that what is now covered in the first two years of college could be covered before graduation from high school, a total of 65% predicted that this would happen by the year 2000.

The question:

In general, do you think elementary school children in the public schools here are made to work too hard in school and on homework, or not hard enough?

	National Totals %	No Children in School %	Public School Parents %	Nonpublic School Parents %
Too hard	4	3	6	4
Not hard enough	61	62	60	70
About right amount	19	15	27	16
Don't know	16	20	7	10
NATIONAL TOTALS		1983 %		1975 %
Too hard		4		5
Not hard enough		61		49
About right amount		19		28
Don't know		16		18

Further breakdowns:

	Too Hard %	Not Hard Enough %	About Right Amount %	Don't Know %
NATIONAL TOTALS	4	61	19	16
Sex				
Men	3	64	17	16
Women	5	58	20	17
Race				
White	4	60	19	17
Nonwhite	4	71	12	13
Age				
18 - 29 years	6	61	22	11
30 - 49 years	4	63	21	13
50 and over	3	60	14	23
Community Size				
1 million and over	2	65	20	13
500,000 - 999,999	4	68	14	14
50,000 - 499,999	2	66	16	16
2,500 - 49,999	6	54	19	21
Under 2,500	7	54	22	17
Central city	1	66	16	17
Education				
Grade school	6	49	17	28
High school	5	59	22	14
College	2	69	15	14
Region				
East	3	60	22	15
Midwest	6	64	18	14
South	3	52	22	23
West	4	72	12	12

The question:

What about students in the public high school

here — in general, are they required to work too hard or not hard enough?

	National Totals %	No Children in School %	Public School Parents %	Nonpublic School Parents %
Too hard	3	3	4	-
Not hard enough	65	66	63	69
About right amount	12	11	14	9
Don't know	20	20	19	22
NATIONAL TOTALS		1983 %		1975 %
Too hard		3		3
Not hard enough		65		54
About right amount		12		22
Don't know		20		21

Further breakdowns:

	Too Hard %	Not Hard Enough %	About Right Amount %	Don't Know %
NATIONAL TOTALS	3	65	12	20
Sex				
Men	2	69	11	18
Women	3	63	13	21
Race				
White	3	65	12	20
Nonwhite	3	71	8	18
Age				
18 - 29 years	6	67	15	12
30 - 49 years	3	65	11	21
50 and over	1	66	10	23
Community Size				
1 million and over	1	70	14	15
500,000 - 999,999	2	71	9	18
50,000 - 499,999	3	67	12	18
2,500 - 49,999	5	60	11	24
Under 2,500	4	60	13	23
Central city	2	69	11	18
Education				
Grade school	2	55	13	30
High school	4	64	13	19
College	1	71	11	17
Region				
East	3	65	14	18
Midwest	3	68	11	18
South	3	55	15	27
West	3	77	8	14

Increasing the Length of the School Year

Although more individuals oppose than approve increasing the length of the school year in their communities by one month, more respondents favor a 10-month school year in this year's survey than in last year's. Moreover, those who were familiar with the report of the National Commission on Excellence in Education are strongly in favor of such a change. More of those parents with children in nonpublic schools approve than disapprove of extending the school year. Individuals who have no children attending school show the least enthusiasm for increasing the school year from the present 180 days.

The question:

In some nations, students attend school as many as 240 days a year as compared to about 180 days in the U.S. How do you feel about extending the public school year in this community by 30 days, making the school year about 210 days or 10 months long? Do you favor or oppose this idea?

	National Totals %	No Children In School %	Public School Parents %	Nonpublic School Parents %
Favor	40	39	43	50
Oppose	49	47	52	44
Don't know	11	14	5	6

NATIONAL TOTALS

	1983 %	1982 %
Favor	40	37
Oppose	49	53
Don't know	11	10

Further breakdowns:

	Favor %	Oppose %	Don't Know %
NATIONAL TOTALS	40	49	11
Sex			
Men	40	48	12
Women	41	49	10
Race			
White	39	50	11
Nonwhite	51	35	14
Age			
18 - 29 years	37	55	8
30 - 49 years	40	52	8
50 and over	42	41	17
Community Size			
1 million and over	52	37	11
500,000 - 999,999	45	44	11
50,000 - 499,999	47	44	9
2,500 - 49,999	31	56	13
Under 2,500	28	59	13
Central city	50	38	12
Education			
Grade school	32	45	23
High school	36	53	11
College	50	43	7
Region			
East	41	49	10
Midwest	36	52	12
South	35	50	15
West	54	36	8

Lengthening the School Day by One Hour

The same general pattern of opinion regarding the lengthening of the school year by one month is found when respondents are asked about lengthening the school day by one hour. Younger persons are most opposed to such a change, as are those who live in small communities and those who live in the Midwest and South. Those most in favor tend to be nonwhites and residents of the West.

The question:

How do you feel about extending the school day in the public schools in this community by one hour? Do you favor or oppose this idea?

	National Totals %	No Children In School %	Public School Parents %	Nonpublic School Parents %
Favor	41	42	40	48
Oppose	48	46	54	40
Don't know	11	12	6	14

NATIONAL TOTALS

	1983 %	1982 %
Favor	41	37
Oppose	48	55
Don't know	11	8

Further breakdowns:

	Favor %	Oppose %	Don't Know %
NATIONAL TOTALS	41	48	11
Sex			
Men	43	45	12
Women	40	50	10
Race			
White	40	49	11
Nonwhite	52	38	10
Age			
18 - 29 years	36	56	8
30 - 49 years	42	50	8
50 and over	45	39	16
Community Size			
1 million and over	47	43	10
500,000 - 999,999	46	44	10
50,000 - 499,999	48	43	9
2,500 - 49,999	37	49	14
Under 2,500	30	57	13
Central city	48	42	10
Education			
Grade school	41	38	21
High school	38	52	10
College	46	46	8
Region			
East	46	45	9
Midwest	37	53	10
South	33	52	15
West	53	37	10

Figure 3. Increasing the Length Of the School Year

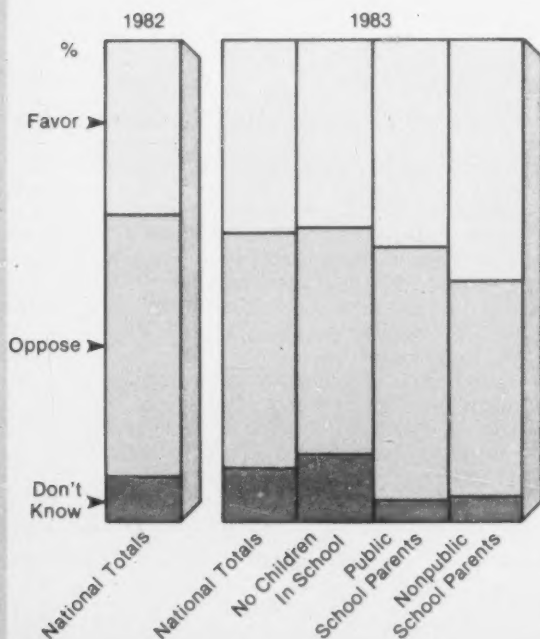


Illustration by Charmaine Dapena

Satisfaction of Parents with Subjects Taught

Parents who are sending their children to nonpublic schools are more satisfied with the learning that takes place there — and with the general curriculum — than are parents who are sending their children to the public schools. The difference is not great, however, and a high degree of satisfaction is found among both groups. Both groups have registered some decline in satisfaction with the general curriculum since 1973.

The question:

Do you think your child is learning the things you believe he or she should be learning?

	Public School Parents %	Nonpublic School Parents %
Yes	74	82
No	20	9
Don't know	6	9

	Public School Parents	
	1983 %	1973 %
Yes	74	81
No	20	14
Don't know	6	5

Subjects the Public Would Require in High School

A majority of the American public would require high school courses in mathematics and English, regardless of whether students plan to continue their education in college or to get jobs following graduation. For those students who plan to go on to college, the public would require courses in history/U.S. government, science, business, and foreign language. For those who plan to end their education with high school, the public would require vocational training, business, history/U.S. government, and science.

Those respondents who would require a foreign language were asked, Which foreign language(s)? The pre-

ferred language, by a large margin, is Spanish, followed by French and German, in that order. A surprising number of parents with children in school (12%) would require that the Russian language be taught.

The question:

Would you look over this card which lists high school subjects. If you were the one to decide, what subjects would you require every public high school student who plans to go on to college to take?

	1983 %	1981 %
Mathematics	92	94
English	88	91
History/U.S. government	78	83
Science	76	76
Business	55	50
Foreign language	50	54
Health education	43	47
Physical education	41	44
Vocational training	32	34
Art	19	28
Music	18	26

(Figures add to more than 100% because of multiple responses.)

The question:

What about those public high school students who do not plan to go to college when they graduate? Which courses would you require them to take?

	1983 %	1981 %
Mathematics	87	91
English	83	89
Vocational training	74	64
Business	65	75
History/U.S. government	63	71
Science	53	58
Health education	42	46
Physical education	40	43
Foreign language	19	21
Art	16	20
Music	16	20

(Figures add to more than 100% because of multiple responses.)

The question (asked of those who would require foreign language for high school graduates):

What foreign language or languages should be required?

	National Totals %	No Children In School %	Public School Parents %	Nonpublic School Parents %
Spanish	56	58	54	44
French	34	35	32	34
German	16	16	14	20
Latin	8	6	11	12
Russian	8	7	12	7
Japanese	6	6	5	7
Other	4	4	5	10
Don't know	24	23	21	30

(Figures add to more than 100% because of multiple responses.)

Figure 4. Lengthening the School Day by One Hour

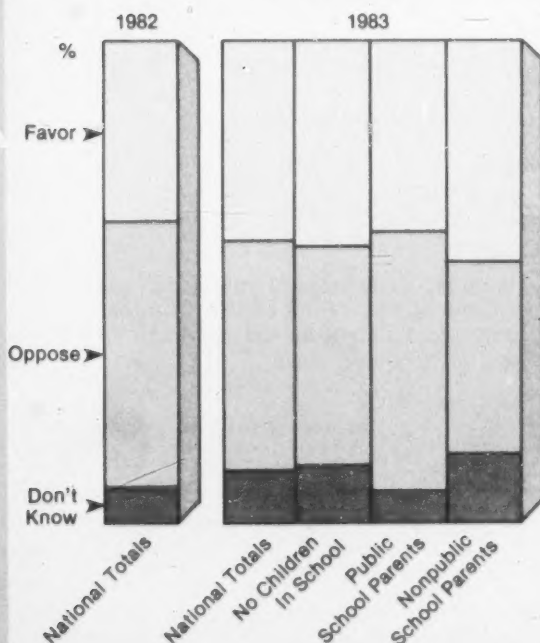


Illustration by Charmaine Dapens

Instruction in Special Areas

In addition to traditional school subjects, the public would like the schools to give special instruction in many other fields, presumably because other institu-

tions, including the home, have not been notably successful in dealing with these areas of instruction. This is especially true in the case of education about the abuse of drugs and alcohol.

More than seven in 10 adults would require driver education. A majority would also require instruction in the use of computers, as well as training in parenting.

This year's survey included several additional subject areas; all of these except the dangers of nuclear war were approved by a slight majority.

The question:

In addition to regular courses, high schools offer instruction in other areas. As I read off these areas, one at a time, would you tell me whether you feel this instruction should be required or should not be required for all high school students?

	Should Be Required %	Should Not Be Required %	No Opinion %
Drug abuse	81	14	5
Alcohol abuse	76	18	6
Driver education	72	23	5
Computer training	72	21	7
Parenting/parent training	58	32	10
Dangers of nuclear waste*	56	33	11
Race relations*	56	33	11
Communism/socialism*	51	38	11
Dangers of nuclear war*	48	42	12

*These topics were not included in the 1981 survey.

	Should Be Required	
	1983 %	1981 %
Drug abuse	81	82
Alcohol abuse	76	78
Driver education	72	71
Computer training	72	43
Parenting/parent training	58	64

Availability of Computers in the Schools

Computers are now available to students in a surprisingly large number of U.S. schools. Nearly half of the parents of children attending the public schools and the nonpublic schools say that these schools now have computers that their children can use. And eight in 10 of the parents with children in schools that do not have computers say they would like to have computers available for their children.

Schools in the East and in the Midwest are much more likely to have computers that are available to students than are schools in the West and South.

The question:

Does the school your child attends have a computer that students can use?

	Public School Parents %	Nonpublic School Parents %
Yes	45	47
No	32	33
Don't know	23	20

The following question was asked of those whose children do not have access to a computer in school:

Would you like the school your child attends to install a computer that students could use?

	Public School Parents %	Nonpublic School Parents %
Yes	81	56
No	10	30
Don't know	9	14

The Public Appraises Its Knowledge Of the Local Schools

Although there has been a slight increase in the number of individuals throughout the U.S. who say that they know "quite a lot" or "some" about their local schools, the fact remains that more than a third say that they know "very little" or "nothing" about them. In the 14-year span between 1969 and 1983, the increase in the number who say that they know "quite a lot" has been only four percentage points.

These percentages indicate that the public relations efforts of schools have not been very successful in reaching members of the public who do not have children attending the schools but who, nevertheless, can and do vote in school bond elections.

The question:

How much do you know about the local schools — quite a lot, some, or very little?

	National Totals %	No Children In School %	Public School Parents %	Nonpublic School Parents %
Quite a lot	22	19	31	21
Some	42	38	55	47
Very little	29	34	13	24
Nothing	7	9	1	8

NATIONAL TOTALS		1983 %	1969 %
Quite a lot		22	18
Some		42	40
Very little		29	42
Nothing		7	-

What Is the Best Way to Reach the Public With Information About the Schools?

Members of the public who do not have children attending the local public schools say that their best source of information about the schools is the local newspaper. Parents with children in the public schools get most of their information from their own children.

The question:

What are the sources of information you use to judge the quality of schools in your local community? That is, where do you get your information about the schools?

	National Totals %	No Children In School %	Public School Parents %	Nonpublic School Parents %
Newspapers	42	44	37	51
Students	36	28	59	30
Parents of students	29	24	41	33
Other adults	27	25	26	34
School board/faculty	24	19	38	23
Radio and/or television	19	22	12	13
Personal experience	8	7	8	9
Other	4	3	5	2
Undesignated	7	9	1	4

(Figures add to more than 100% because of multiple responses.)

	Sources of Information	
	1983 %	1973 %
Newspapers	42	36
Students	36	43
Parents of students	29	33
Other adults	27	23
School board/faculty	24	33
Radio and/or television	19	20
Personal experience	8	-
PTA	-	3
Other	4	12
Undesignated	7	4

(Figures add to more than 100% because of multiple responses.)

The Public's Involvement With the Local Schools

When citizens included in this year's survey were asked about their involvement with the local schools, their answers indicated that the schools nationally are failing to reach a large segment of the adult population. In fact, more than half of those with no children in schools say that they have had no direct contact or relationship with their local schools since the opening of school last September (the question was asked in May). This may help explain why more than 40% — in answer to another question — said that they know little or nothing about the local schools.

The question:

Since September, which of the following, if any, have you yourself done?

	National Totals %	No Children In School %	Public School Parents %	Nonpublic School Parents %
Received any newsletter, pamphlet, or any other material telling what the local public schools are doing	32	22	58	38
Attended a local public school athletic event	25	18	42	28
Attended a school play or concert in any local public school	24	16	42	36
Met with any teachers or administrators in the local public school about your own child	21	4	62	44
Attended a PTA meeting	14	4	36	46
Attended any meeting dealing with the local public school situation	10	7	18	13
Attended a school board meeting	8	4	16	24
Written any letter to the school board, newspaper, or any other organization about the local school situation	4	3	6	5
None of the above	43	56	14	22
Don't know	4	4	2	6

(Figures add to more than 100% because of multiple responses.)

Importance of a College Education

It will come as good news to college administrators that in the last five years the public has changed markedly in its view about the importance of a college education. Since a question about the importance of a college education was first asked (1978), the percentage of individuals who say that a college education is "very important" has increased from 36% to 58%. Those with

children now attending school are even more convinced of the importance of a college education.

The question:

How important is a college education today — very important, fairly important, or not too important?

	National Totals %	No Children In School %	Public School Parents %	Nonpublic School Parents %
Very important	58	57	60	60
Fairly important	31	31	32	30
Not too important	8	8	7	6
Don't know	3	4	1	4

NATIONAL TOTALS

	1983 %	1978 %
Very important	58	36
Fairly important	31	46
Not too important	8	16
Don't know	3	2

Further breakdowns:

	Importance of College			
	Very Important %	Fairly Important %	Not Too Important %	Don't Know %
NATIONAL TOTALS	58	31	8	3
Sex				
Men	57	31	9	3
Women	60	30	7	3
Race				
White	56	32	9	3
Nonwhite	66	24	5	3
Age				
18 - 29 years	53	34	11	2
30 - 49 years	60	31	7	2
50 and over	60	28	7	5
Community Size				
1 million and over	64	28	6	2
500,000 - 999,999	63	26	6	5
50,000 - 499,999	59	30	8	3
2,500 - 49,999	54	34	10	2
Under 2,500	52	34	10	4
Central city	64	25	7	4
Education				
Grade school	61	24	9	6
High school	54	33	10	3
College	63	29	5	3
Region				
East	61	29	7	3
Midwest	50	37	10	3
South	63	26	7	2
West	58	28	10	4

Teaching as a Career

In five surveys, beginning in 1969, respondents have been asked if they would like a child of theirs to take up teaching as a career. This year, substantially more respondents were undecided than in earlier years when the same question was asked. The percentage giving a definite yes answer this year is slightly lower than in 1981 and substantially lower than in 1969, when 75% of all respondents said that they would like a child of theirs to take up teaching in the public schools as a career. The comparable figure today is 45%.

To help explain this marked change, respondents were asked why they would, or would not, like a child of theirs to become a public school teacher. The answers to this question from those who said no, listed in order of frequency of mention, are: 1) low pay; 2) discipline problems; 3) unrewarding, thankless work; and 4) low

prestige of teaching as a profession. Those who said that they would like a child of theirs to enter the teaching profession said that teaching: 1) is a worthwhile profession, 2) contributes to society, 3) is a challenging job, and 4) can make a real difference in a child's life.

The question:

Would you like to have a child of yours take up teaching in the public schools as a career?

	National Totals %	No Children In School %	Public School Parents %	Nonpublic School Parents %
Yes	45	42	51	40
No	33	33	33	39
Don't know	22	25	16	21

	1983 %	1981 %	1980 %	1972 %	1969 %
Yes	45	46	46	67	75
No	33	43	40	22	15
Don't know	22	11	12	11	10

Personal Qualities Most Desired in Teachers

When respondents were asked in an "open" question about the personal qualities they would look for if they could choose their child's teacher, their responses indicate that they would seek a model of perfection — someone who is understanding, patient, friendly, intelligent, and who has a sense of humor and high moral character. Farther down the list the public would seek out a person who has the ability to motivate and inspire children and possesses enthusiasm for the subject being taught.

The question:

Suppose you could choose your child's teachers. Assuming they had all had about the same experiences and training, what personal qualities would you look for?

The qualities respondents named most often, in order of mention:

1. Ability to communicate, to understand, to relate
2. Patience
3. Ability to discipline, to be firm and fair
4. High moral character
5. Friendliness, good personality, sense of humor
6. Dedication to teaching profession, enthusiasm
7. Ability to inspire, motivate students
8. Intelligence
9. Caring about students

Teachers' Salaries

About one person in four of those questioned in this year's survey registers no opinion about whether teachers' salaries are "too high," "too low," or "just about right." Of those who do have an opinion, many more say that salaries are too low than too high.

When the "no opinion" group is eliminated and percentages are based on those with opinions, a sharp increase in the number saying that salaries are "too low" has been registered in the last two years.

The question:

Do you think salaries for teachers in this community are too high, too low, or just about right?

	National Totals %	No Children In School %	Public School Parents %	Nonpublic School Parents %
Too high	8	8	9	5
Too low	35	33	37	42
About right	31	30	35	32
No opinion	26	29	19	21

NATIONAL TOTALS	1983 %	1981 %	1969 %
Too high	8	10	2
Too low	35	29	33
About right	31	41	43
No opinion	26	20	22

NATIONAL TOTALS (with "no opinion" group eliminated)	1983 %	1981 %	1969 %
Too high	11	13	3
Too low	47	36	42
About right	42	51	55

Further breakdowns:

	Too High %	Too Low %	About Right %	Don't Know %
NATIONAL TOTALS	8	35	31	26
Sex				
Men	9	36	34	21
Women	7	33	30	30
Race				
White	9	33	32	26
Nonwhite	4	42	28	26
Age				
18 - 29 years	5	45	28	22
30 - 49 years	7	39	32	22
50 and over	12	22	33	33
Community Size				
1 million and over	9	34	30	27
500,000 - 999,999	4	42	28	28
50,000 - 499,999	6	39	30	25
2,500 - 49,999	10	37	32	21
Under 2,500	10	25	36	29
Central city	7	43	28	22
Education				
Grade school	16	18	32	34
High school	8	31	33	28
College	5	45	29	21

Figure 5. Teachers' Salaries

Salaries	Merit Pay
Too high 8%	
Too low 35%	Quality of work 61%
About right 31%	
No opinion 26%	Standard scale 31%
	Don't know 8%

Illustration by Charmaine Depena

Region	Too High %	Too Low %	About Right %	Don't Know %
East	11	29	35	25
Midwest	10	32	37	21
South	5	41	26	28
West	6	37	25	32

More Pay for Math and Science Teachers

The public is evenly divided on the question of giving higher wages to math and science teachers and to those who teach technical and vocational subjects than to teachers of other subjects because of the present shortage of teachers in these fields. When those who have "no opinion" are eliminated, however, more respondents say that they favor paying these teachers higher wages than that they would oppose such a move. Widespread agreement on this question exists among those with children now attending public and nonpublic schools and those who have no children in school.

The question:

Today there is a shortage of teachers in science, math, technical subjects, and vocational subjects. If your local public schools needed teachers in these subjects, would you favor or oppose paying them higher wages than teachers of other subjects?

	National Totals %	No Children In School %	Public School Parents %	Nonpublic School Parents %
Favor paying them higher wages	50	50	49	45
Oppose	35	34	41	38
Don't know	15	16	10	17

Merit Pay for Teachers

The public votes nearly two-to-one in favor of merit pay for teachers. The percentage favoring merit pay has increased slightly since 1970, when the same question was asked of a similar cross section of U.S. adults. In 1970, 58% of the public favored merit pay and 36% favored a standard scale. Today, the comparable percentages are 61% and 31%.

Parents of schoolchildren favor merit pay by almost the same margin as the general public. Those who were familiar with the report of the President's Commission are more strongly in favor of merit pay, voting 71% to 25% in favor of it.

The question:

Should each teacher be paid on the basis of the quality of his or her work, or should all teachers be paid on a standard-scale basis?

	National Totals %	No Children In School %	Public School Parents %	Nonpublic School Parents %
Quality of work	61	61	61	64
Standard scale	31	30	34	30
Don't know	8	9	5	6
NATIONAL TOTALS		1983		1970
		%		%
Quality of work		61		58
Standard scale		31		36
Don't know		8		6

Early Reactions to the Report of the President's Commission on Excellence in Education

Only 28% of the respondents included in this year's survey had heard or read about the report of the National Commission on Excellence in Education at the time of this survey. Those who said that they had heard or read about it were asked to state the overall findings of the report, as evidence that they had given it some attention. This "informed" group was then asked if, in general, they agreed or disagreed with the conclusions of the report. Among this informed group, nearly nine in 10 agreed with the findings of the Commission.

To obtain some indication of whether those who had not read the report would agree with its conclusions, they were asked whether they agreed or disagreed with the finding that "the quality of education in the U.S. public schools is only fair and not improving." This group, as in the case of the informed group, expressed overwhelming agreement with the conclusion.

The question:

Have you heard or read anything about the recent report of the President's National Commission on Excellence in Education?

	National Totals %	No Children In School %	Public School Parents %	Nonpublic School Parents %
Yes	28	27	31	29
No	68	69	65	69
Don't know	4	4	4	2

The question (informed group only):

In general, do you agree or disagree with the report's conclusions?

	National Totals %	No Children In School %	Public School Parents %	Nonpublic School Parents %
Agree	87	87	84	90
Disagree	8	8	9	10
Don't know	5	5	7	-

The question (uninformed group only):

The Commission concluded that the quality of education in the U.S. public schools is only fair and not improving. Do you agree with this opinion or disagree?

	National Totals %	No Children In School %	Public School Parents %	Nonpublic School Parents %
Agree	74	74	77	77
Disagree	13	12	15	10
No opinion	13	14	8	13

Willingness to Pay More Taxes To Raise Educational Standards

The report of the President's Commission may have a positive effect in helping communities increase tax revenues for their local public schools — provided that such increases are aimed at raising educational standards.

In an earlier question, included in this same survey, respondents were asked if they would vote to raise taxes if their schools claimed that they needed much

more money. The vote on this question was 39% yes and 53% no. Although this represents an appreciable increase in the yes vote over 1981, it is far less than the 58% who say that they would be willing to pay more taxes to raise the standard of education throughout the nation.

Two points need to be borne in mind. First, the public would obviously like to have the federal government contribute more to help finance the public schools. And second, respondents see a need for raising the educational standard throughout the nation.

The question:

Would you be willing to pay more taxes to help raise the standard of education in the United States?

	National Totals %	No Children In School %	Public School Parents %	Nonpublic School Parents %
Yes	58	54	70	57
No	33	35	24	38
Don't know	9	11	6	5

Looking Ahead to the Year 2000: Changes That the Public Foresees In the Educational System

Many suggestions for improving the educational system were presented to respondents to determine what chance they think these suggestions have of being carried out between now and the year 2000.

Those respondents who were familiar with the report of the President's Commission differ little in their views from those who now have children attending the public and nonpublic schools.

The question:

As you look ahead to the year 2000 (that's 17 years from now), what do you think the schools will be doing then to educate students?

	National Totals %	No Children In School %	Public School Parents %	Nonpublic School Parents %
Do you think that all students will have access to a computer and be trained in its use?				
Yes	86	84	92	90
No	6	6	5	7
Don't know	8	10	3	3
Do you think that more importance will be given to vocational training in high school?				
Yes	76	76	77	69
No	11	11	13	19
Don't know	13	13	10	12
Do you think that more attention will be given to teaching students how to think?				
Yes	70	68	73	72
No	16	16	17	15
Don't know	14	16	10	13
Do you think that what is now covered in the first two years of college will be covered before graduation from high school?				
Yes	65	62	71	67
No	19	20	19	23
Don't know	16	18	10	10

	National Totals %	No Children In School %	Public School Parents %	Nonpublic School Parents %
Do you think that more attention will be given to individual instruction?				
Yes	53	53	51	59
No	32	31	37	28
Don't know	15	16	12	13
Do you think children will start school at an earlier age — such as 3 or 4 years old?				
Yes	51	49	52	55
No	37	37	38	37
Don't know	12	14	10	8
Do you think that taxpayers will be willing to vote more favorably on bond issues and give more financial support to the schools?				
Yes	45	44	47	49
No	36	35	37	38
Don't know	19	21	16	13
Do you think that the school program will cover 12 months of the year — with less time for holidays?				
Yes	33	30	38	40
No	53	53	54	53
Don't know	14	17	8	7

COMPOSITION OF THE SAMPLE

Analysis of Respondents

Adults	%	Occupation	%
No children in schools	68	Farm	3
Public school parents	27*	Undesignated	8
Nonpublic school parents	6*		
		Political affiliation	%
*Total for both starred categories exceeds 32% because some parents have children attending more than one kind of school.		Republican	24
		Democrat	41
		Independent	30
		Other	5
		Income	%
Sex	%	\$40,000 and over	11
Men	48	\$30,000 - \$39,999	10
Women	52	\$20,000 - \$29,999	19
		\$10,000 - \$19,999	30
Race	%	\$9,999 and under	24
White	86	Undesignated	6
Nonwhite	14		
		Region	%
Religion	%	East	28
Protestant	54	Midwest	27
Catholic	30	South	27
Jewish	3	West	18
Other	13		
		Community size	%
Age	%	1 million and over	20
18 - 29 years	27	500,000 - 999,999	13
30 - 49 years	36	50,000 - 499,999	26
50 and over	37	2,500 - 49,999	14
		Under 2,500	27
		Education	%
Occupation	%	College	30
Business/professional	26	High school	56
Clerical/sales	6	Grade school	14
Manual labor	38		
Non-labor force	19		

DESIGN OF THE SAMPLE

The sampling procedure for this survey is designed to produce an approximation of the adult civilian population, age 18 and older, living in the U.S., except for those persons in institutions such as prisons or hospitals.

The design of the sample is that of a replicated probability sample, down to the block level in the case of urban areas and to segments of townships in the case of rural areas. Approximately 300 sampling locations are used in the survey.

The sample design included stratification by these four size-of-community strata, using 1970 census data: 1) cities of population one million and over, 2) 250,000 - 999,999, 3) 50,000 - 249,999, and 4) all other populations. Each of these strata was further stratified into seven geographic regions: New England, Middle Atlantic, East Central, West Central, South, Mountain, and Pacific. Within each city-size/regional stratum, the population was arrayed in geographic order and zoned into equal-sized groups of sampling units. Pairs of localities were selected in each zone, with probability of selection of each locality proportional to its population size in the 1970 census, producing two replicated samples of localities.

Within localities so selected for which the requisite population data are reported, subdivisions were drawn with the probability of selection proportional to size of population. In all other localities, small definable geographic areas were selected with equal probability.

Within each subdivision so selected for which block statistics are available, a sample of blocks or block clusters was drawn with probability of selection proportional to the number of dwelling units. In all other subdivisions or areas, blocks or segments were drawn at random or with equal probability.

In each cluster of blocks and each segment so selected, randomly selected starting points were designated on the interviewers' maps of the areas. Starting at these points, interviewers were required to follow a given direction in the selection of households until their assignments were complete.

Interviewing was conducted at times when adults, in general, were most likely to be at home, which means on weekends, or, if on weekdays, after 4 p.m. for women and after 6 p.m. for men.

Allowance for persons not at home was made by a "times-at-home" weighting procedure rather than by "callbacks." This procedure is a standard method for reducing the sample bias that would otherwise result from underrepresentation in the sample of persons who are difficult to find at home.

The prestratification by regions is routinely supplemented by fitting each obtained sample to the latest available Census Bureau estimates of the regional distribution of the population. Also, minor adjustments of the sample are made by educational attainment by men and women separately, based on the annual estimates of the Census Bureau (derived from their Current Population Survey) and by age.

*A. Pollitz and W. Simmons, "An Attempt to Get the 'Not at Home' In to the Sample Without Callbacks," *Journal of the American Statistical Association*, March 1949, pp. 9-31.

SAMPLING TOLERANCES

In interpreting survey results, it should be borne in mind that all sample surveys are subject to sampling error, i.e., the extent to which the results may differ from what would be obtained if the whole population surveyed had been interviewed. The size of such sampling errors depends largely on the number of interviews.

The following tables may be used in estimating the sampling error of any percentage in this report. The computed allowances have taken into account the effect of the sample design upon sampling error. They may be interpreted as indicating the range (plus or minus the figure shown) within which the results of repeated samplings in the same time period could be expected to vary 95% of the time, assuming the same sampling procedure, the same interviewers, and the same questionnaire.

The first table shows how much allowance should be made for the sampling error of a percentage:

Recommended Allowance for Sampling Error of a Percentage

	In Percentage Points (at 95 in 100 confidence level)*					
	Sample Size					
	1,500	1,000	750	600	400	200
Percentages near 10	2	2	3	3	4	5
Percentages near 20	2	3	4	4	5	7
Percentages near 30	3	4	4	4	6	8
Percentages near 40	3	4	4	5	6	11
Percentages near 50	3	4	4	5	6	11
Percentages near 60	3	4	4	5	6	11
Percentages near 70	3	4	4	4	6	10
Percentages near 80	2	3	4	4	5	9
Percentages near 90	2	2	3	3	4	7

*The chances are 95 in 100 that the sampling error is not larger than the figures shown.

The table would be used in the following manner: Let us say a reported percentage is 33 for a group that includes 1,500 respondents.

We go to the row for "percentages near 30" in the table and across to the column headed "1,500." The number at this point is 3, which means that the 33% obtained in the sample is subject to a sampling error of plus or minus three points. Another way of saying this is that very probably (95 chances out of 100) the average of repeated samplings would be somewhere between 30% and 36%, with the most likely figure the 33% obtained.

In comparing survey results in two samples such as, for example, men and women, the question arises as to how large a difference between them must be before one can be reasonably sure that it reflects a real difference. In the tables below, the number of points that must be allowed for in such comparisons is indicated.

Two tables are provided. One is for percentages near 20 or 80; the other for percentages near 50. For percentages in between, the error to be allowed for is between those shown in the two tables.

Recommended Allowance for Sampling Error
Of the Difference

TABLE A	In Percentage Points (at 95 in 100 confidence level)*			
	Percentages near 20 or near 80			
Size of Sample	750	600	400	200
750	5			
600	5	6		
400	6	6	7	
200	8	8	8	10

TABLE B	Percentages near 50			
	750	600	400	200
750	6			
600	7	7		
400	7	8	8	
200	10	10	10	12

*The chances are 95 in 100 that the sampling error is not larger than the figures shown.

Here is an example of how the tables would be used. Let us say that 50% of men respond a certain way and 40% of women respond that way also, for a difference of 10 percentage points between them. Can we say with any assurance that the 10-point difference reflects a real difference between men and women on the question? The sample contains approximately 750 men and 750 women.

Since the percentages are near 50, we consult Table B, and, since the two samples are about 750 persons each, we look for the number in the column headed "750," which is also in the row designated "750." We find the number 6 here. This means that the allowance for error should be six points and that, in concluding that the percentage among men is somewhere between four and 16 points higher than the percentage among women, we should be wrong only about 5% of the time. In other words, we can conclude with considerable confidence that a difference exists in the direction observed and that it amounts to at least four percentage points.

If, in another case, men's responses amount to, say, 22% and women's 24%, we consult Table A, because these percentages are near 20. We look in the column headed "750" and see that the number is 5. Obviously, then, the two-point difference is inconclusive.

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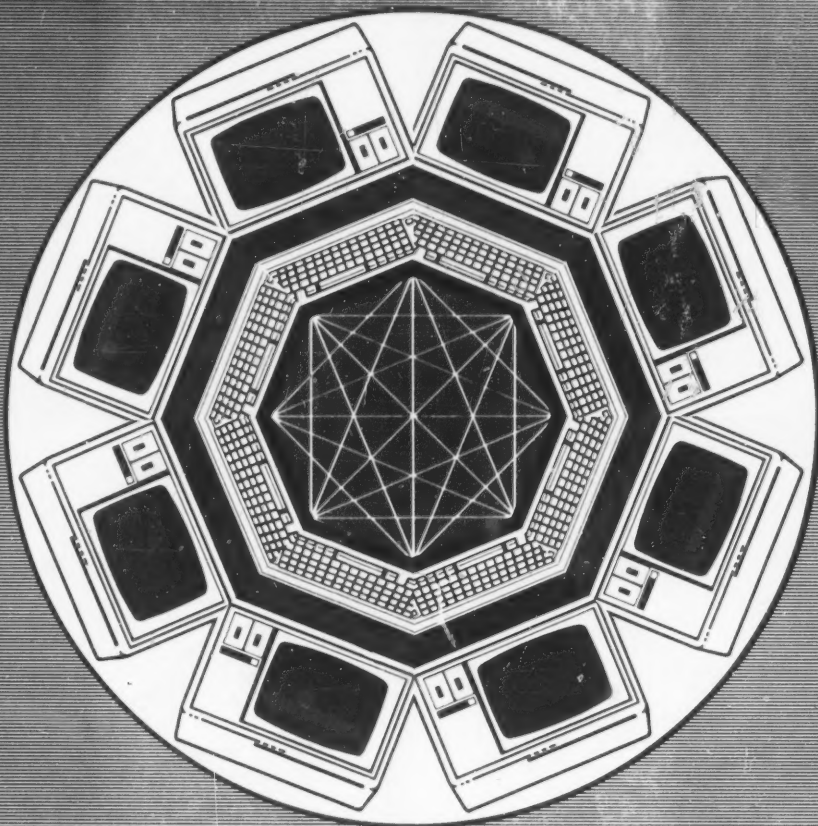
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Teaching in Peril
Schlechty & Vance

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Institutional Responses to the Quality/Quantity Issue in Teacher Training

by Phillip C. Schlechty and Victor S. Vance

The quality of the teaching force will not be raised merely by raising entrance or exit standards in teacher education, say the authors, after considerable research. Policy makers must also attend to the conditions of the workplace and to the competitive position of teaching in the larger occupational structure. Radical reform is indicated.

IN THE FIELD of education, few facts are beyond dispute. But two of the more certain are that there has been a substantial decline in recent years in the absolute number and proportion of college graduates preparing to teach and that those who are preparing to teach and those who enter teaching score less well on measures of academic ability than did teacher education majors and practicing teachers in the not so distant past.¹

Data such as these raise a number of questions. For example, it is reasonable to

ask whether the decline in the number and proportion of students entering education is simply the effect of the widespread perception that few teaching jobs are available. It is also reasonable to ask whether there is any reason to believe that the decrease in the proportion of high-scoring students entering teaching is a cause for concern.² In addition to these obvious questions, at least one other issue should be addressed when we consider the meaning of data about the quality and quantity of teachers. That issue is the response that institutions of higher education have been making to the conditions these data describe.

As fewer high-scoring students enter teacher education, teacher education institutions must decide whether to accept declining enrollments as an inevitable result of market conditions or whether to adopt some strategy intended to maintain enrollments in the face of an unfavorable market. Teacher training institutions that choose the latter response have few alternatives available to them. One option is to create high-quality training programs and then attempt to recruit high-scoring students aggressively. This strategy assumes that the reason high-quality students are not enrolling in existing programs has to

do with the programs themselves rather than with the job opportunities available in the public schools. A second option is to admit more low-scoring students to offset the loss of high-scoring students or to admit students who score even lower than those admitted in the past.

As the national debate over the quality of teaching and teachers heats up, many policy makers and legislative groups assume that many teacher training institutions have already chosen this second option. Acting on this perception, policy makers have taken an obvious remedial step: they have enacted testing programs designed to insure that those who enter teaching will meet some predetermined minimum on measures of academic ability.

Given the declining numbers of high-scoring applicants available to teacher education programs, it would not be surprising if teacher training programs lowered their standards in order to maintain enrollments. Institutions that have traditionally been more selective could employ this strategy effectively. But those institutions that already have relatively low standards cannot lower their standards much further.

The question is, What is the case?

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Have institutions that train teachers generally lowered their standards in order to maintain enrollments? Or have *only some* institutions done so? Perhaps the reported decline in the attraction of teacher education for high-scoring students has nothing to do with standards at all — but can be accounted for solely by individual choices in the marketplace.

We undertook our present study to shed some light on questions such as these. More specifically, we studied the institutional origins of two groups of entrants into the teacher workforce in North Carolina in order to examine possible interactions among a decline in the size of the entering group, a decline in the measured academic ability of the members of that group, and possible competition among teacher education institutions intent on keeping their individual shares of the teacher job market.

Setting of the Study

The teachers whom we studied were graduates of North Carolina institutions of higher education who started teaching in North Carolina public schools between 1973 and 1980. We were particularly interested in those who began teaching in 1973 and 1974 and in 1979 and 1980 — respectively the earliest and most recent years for which data were available.

From our previous research we knew that this population reflected the pattern of qualitative and quantitative decline typical of the nation.³ However, one demographic feature of our sample was different from the national pattern: there were substantially more blacks among North Carolina teachers. Nationally, between 9% and 11% of beginning teachers are black; in North Carolina the figure is approximately 15%. Since blacks were treated separately from whites in the present study, this demographic difference did not affect the results.

One unique feature of the North Carolina situation proved to be an advantage. All the questions posed in this study were directed toward discerning differences in institutional responses to the quality/quantity issue. Given the number and variety of teacher training institutions in North Carolina (44), the North Carolina case can provide an empirical base for speculating about different types of responses by different types of institutions.

Among the institutions we studied are: an elite private institution (Duke University); an elite public institution (the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill); two land grant colleges; 11 historically black institutions (six private and five public); several other private colleges that enjoy strong academic reputations (e.g., Davidson and Wake Forest); a number of

elite private colleges that were once all female; a number of former state teachers colleges that have become multipurpose universities; three state universities founded since World War II, one serving the largest metropolitan area in the state (Charlotte); a relatively large number of small private schools of modest reputation; and a number of non-elite, nonselective private institutions.⁴

We found wide variations in the numbers of teachers produced by these institutions. For example, between 1973 and 1980 one public institution produced more than 20% of all the teachers employed in the state, whereas one private institution produced less than .01%. Given the history of segregation, it is not surprising that most of the black teachers in North Carolina are produced by historically black colleges, though we found this pattern to be changing. It is also clear that some institutions of higher education have been much more dependent than others on teacher education as a source of enrollment. Similarly, the state has been much more dependent on some institutions than on others for a continuing supply of teachers.

Questions and Methodology

Our study addressed three specific research questions: 1) Is there empirical evidence to support the proposition that teacher training institutions can offset the effects of declining interest in teaching and maintain their own market positions by graduating more students who score lower? 2) If evidence exists to support the proposition in question 1, do *all* institutions that prepare teachers graduate more low-scoring teachers? 3) If the responses of institutions vary, what institutional factors can be linked to this variability?

We used the same data set in this study that we used in our earlier study.⁵ Therefore, we will not elaborate on the technical details here. It is enough to note that the data include all the employment records for teachers working in North Carolina schools between 1973 and 1980. These records include the National Teacher Examination (NTE) common scores, the names of the institutions from which teachers received their undergraduate degrees, and data on race and year of hiring. We used data only on those who had no prior teaching experience in other states and who had received their degrees from one of the 44 teacher training programs in North Carolina. Because our earlier research indicated substantial differences between the scores of black teachers and white teachers, we decided to treat the two populations separately.

Once we had identified the population for our study, we divided the group into

Some institutions offset a decline in the enrollment of high-scoring students by admitting more low-scoring students.

five categories, according to achievement on the NTE. Our earlier work had shown that this test is a defensible measure of academic achievement.⁶ Because we wished to illuminate differences in institutional responses to declining enrollments, we decided to concentrate on the years 1973/1974 and the years 1979/1980 — the beginning and end of the period covered by our data set.

Next we divided the teacher training institutions into six categories, according to the percentages of high-scoring teachers (those in the top two of our five NTE ranks) that they placed in teaching positions in 1973/1974 and in 1979/1980. We treated historically black institutions as a separate category, and we generally analyzed the data for black teachers separately (see Tables 1 and 2).

High-stable institutions. We labeled institutions that produced 60% or more high-scoring teachers in both 1973/1974 and 1979/1980 as *high-stable* institutions. These institutions showed the greatest percent decline in white teachers produced (34.71%). This overall figure is accounted for primarily by a decline in the number of teachers produced in the highest NTE rank. Although the percent decline in the lowest NTE rank (65.63%) is even greater, the actual numbers are very small and can probably be accounted for by a policy implemented during this period at the largest school in this category, precluding the admission of third-year transfer students into teacher training programs.

A common characteristic of the five teacher training programs in this category is the high admissions standards of the institutions that house them. Scores on standardized tests play a significant role in admissions decisions at these schools. Thus these teacher training programs are not in a position to offset declining enrollments by admitting low-scoring students.

High-declining institutions. Institutions with 60% or more of the teachers they graduated in the top two NTE ranks in 1973/1974 but fewer than 60% in the top two ranks in 1979/1980 we labeled *high-declining*. These institutions showed the smallest percent decline in the number of white teachers produced and a substantial percent increase in the number of

black teachers produced (-16.14% white, +108.70% black). They also showed the greatest percent increase in low-scoring teachers produced (126.47%) and a percent decline in high-scoring teachers produced (42.34%) that nearly equaled that of *high-stable* institutions.

Thus it appears that *high-declining* institutions have offset the impact of a decline in the enrollment of high-scoring

students by admitting more low-scoring students. None of the institutions in this category had rigorous overall admissions standards, and thus the teacher training programs were able to admit more low-scoring students when high-scoring students, in keeping with national trends, chose majors other than teacher education.

Moderate-stable institutions. Those in-

stitutions that produced a moderate proportion of high-scoring teachers (between 40% and 60% in the top two NTE ranks) both in 1973/1974 and in 1979/1980 were labeled *moderate-stable*. This category included only one institution, so it is of passing interest only. However, it is worth noting that even though the institution maintains its position and keeps a relatively stable level of production, the only

Table 1. Percent Change in Number of White Teachers Employed, By NTE Rank and Institution Type

Type of Institution		Rank					Total
		1 Lowest	2	3	4	5 Highest	
High-stable	1973/1974 N	32	49	86	158	378	703
	1979/1980 N	11	35	75	131	207	459
	% change	-65.63	-28.52	-12.79	-17.08	-45.24	-34.71
High-declining	1973/1974 N	34	99	153	233	274	793
	1979/1980 N	77	116	153	161	158	665
	% change	+126.47	+17.17	0	-30.9	-42.34	-16.14
Moderate-stable	1973/1974 N	9	27	31	40	37	144
	1979/1980 N	20	24	24	38	30	133
	% change	+122.22	-22.23	-22.58	-5	-18.92	-7.64
Moderate-declining	1973/1974 N	226	291	328	340	282	1,467
	1979/1980 N	259	274	281	193	159	1,166
	% change	+14.6	-5.84	-14.33	-43.24	-43.62	-20.52
Low-stable	1973/1974 N	841	771	636	527	377	3,152
	1979/1980 N	679	517	466	379	223	2,267
	% change	-19.26	-32.95	-26.73	-29.42	-40.9	-28.31
Low-improving	1973/1974 N	16	14	8	12	8	58
	1979/1980 N	10	12	13	16	13	64
	% change	-37.5	-14.29	+62.5	+33.33	+62.5	+10.35
Black colleges	1973/1974 N	16	9	7	8	10	50
	1979/1980 N	14	6	9	5	10	44
	% change	-12.5	-33.33	+28.57	-37.5	0	-12
Total	1973/1974 N	1,174	1,260	1,249	1,318	1,366	6,367
	1979/1980 N	1,070	984	1,021	923	800	4,798
	% change	-8.85	-21.9	-18.26	-29.97	-41.43	-24.64

category in which it recorded an increase in the number of teachers produced was the lowest-scoring category.

Moderate-declining institutions. Those institutions that produced a moderate proportion (between 40% and 60%) of high-scoring teachers in 1973/1974 but a lower proportion in 1979/1980 we labeled *moderate-declining*. These institutions showed a percent decline in the number of

white teachers produced that was comparable to that of the *high-stable* institutions. However, like the *high-declining* institutions, the *moderate-declining* institutions showed an increase (though not nearly so great) in the number of teachers produced in the lowest category. Thus the increased number of low-scoring students offsets the decline in the number of high-scoring students. Although the number of black stu-

dents in all categories is small, the *moderate-declining* institutions were not nearly as successful at increasing the number of high-scoring black students as either the *high-stable* or the *high-declining* institutions (see Table 2).

Low-stable institutions. Those institutions that produced fewer than 40% high-scoring teachers in both 1973/1974 and 1979/1980 we labeled *low-stable*. All of

Table 2. Percent Change in Number of Black Teachers Employed, By NTE Rank and Institution Type

Type of Institution		Rank					Total
		1 Lowest	2	3	4	5 Highest	
High-stable	1973/1974 N	1	0	0	2	7	10
	1979/1980 N	0	3	1	2	18	24
	% change	-100	--	--	0	+157.14	+140
High-declining	1973/1974 N	0	2	1	6	14	23
	1979/1980 N	3	5	5	9	26	48
	% change	--	+150	+400	+50	+85.72	+108.7
Moderate-stable	1973/1974 N	0	0	0	0	1	1
	1979/1980 N	0	0	0	1	0	1
	% change	0	0	0	--	-100	0
Moderate-declining	1973/1974 N	3	2	3	6	25	39
	1979/1980 N	7	9	12	18	14	60
	% change	+133.33	+350	+300	+200	-44	+79.49
Low-stable	1973/1974 N	7	7	5	12	11	42
	1979/1980 N	21	18	27	41	18	125
	% change	+110	+157.14	+285.72	+241.69	+63.39	+197.62
Low-improving	1973/1974 N	0	0	0	0	0	0
	1979/1980 N	0	0	1	1	1	3
	% change	0	0	--	--	--	--
Black colleges	1973/1974 N	133	161	160	163	116	733
	1979/1980 N	141	113	130	117	71	572
	% change	+6.02	-29.81	-18.75	-28.22	-38.79	-21.97
Total	1973/1974 N	144	172	169	189	174	848
	1979/1980 N	172	148	176	170	148	814
	% change	+16.27	-13.95	+4.14	-11.17	-14.94	-4.01

The type of institution does not significantly influence the declining quality of the teachers produced.

these institutions were heavily dependent on the production of teachers. Among them, they produced 49.51% of all the teachers hired in North Carolina in 1973/1974 and 47.25% of those hired in 1979/1980. The decline in the proportion of high-scoring teachers produced by the *low-stable* institutions is similar to the decline shown by *high-stable*, *high-declining*, and *moderate-declining* institutions. It seems clear that the type of institution does not significantly influence the declining quality of the teachers produced.

Low-improving institutions. Only two small private institutions produced fewer than 40% of their teachers in the top two NTE ranks in 1973/1974 and produced more than 40% in these ranks in 1979/1980. The changes were not dramatic, and, given the small number of teachers involved, not practically significant.

Black institutions. Because so few white students have been attracted to historically black institutions, we will not even try to make sense of the data on white teachers produced by historically black institutions. Black teachers produced by black institutions, however, follow patterns similar to those shown by white teachers produced by predominantly white institutions. For example, the black colleges produced 38.79% fewer black teachers in the highest NTE rank and 6.02% more teachers in the lowest rank in 1979/1980.

One pattern that is clearly evident from Table 2 is that there has been some movement of high-scoring students from the historically black institutions to *high-stable*, *high-declining*, and *low-stable* white institutions. We cannot say for certain why this is happening, but we can speculate that a combination of increased recruiting, especially by the more selective *high-stable* institutions, and such vaguely defined factors as differences in institutional status are among the leading causes.

Role of the Public Schools

Our data on the numbers of teachers being produced by North Carolina teacher training institutions derive from employment figures. Thus, not only are teacher

training institutions producing higher proportions of low-scoring teachers, but the public schools are hiring them in proportionately greater numbers as well.

In fact, there is no evidence that public schools are any more likely to hire high-scoring teachers than they are to hire low-scoring teachers.⁷ Laura Sharp and Sarina Hirshfield reported that public schools tended to favor teacher candidates with higher grades, but, when they adjusted for potential grade inflation, they found that the preference was not significant.⁸

There are a number of possible explanations for this apparent lack of discrimination on the part of public school systems. The first and most obvious is that the public schools simply disregard measures of academic achievement when they make hiring decisions. Another possibility is that the highest-scoring teacher education majors avail themselves of alternative employment opportunities, and the pool of high-scoring teachers is thus depleted. Finally, there is what we call the "brand recognition" factor. That is, public school employers may well prefer to hire the graduates of certain institutions over those of others. Thus it is conceivable that more selective institutions are successfully placing a disproportionate number of the few low-scoring teachers they produce. The data presented in Tables 3 and 4 do not provide a solid basis for choosing absolutely among these possibilities, but they do provide a basis for informed speculation.

Tables 3 and 4 compare changes in the share of the job market claimed by graduates of different types of institutions. (Again, we have treated the case of black teachers separately.) For example, Table 3 shows that in 1973/1974 the *high-stable* institutions claimed 11.04% of the new-teacher market in North Carolina; the *low-stable* institutions claimed a 49.51% share. In 1979/1980 the share of the *high-stable* institutions had declined to 9.57%, and the share of the *low-stable* institutions had declined to 47.25%. Thus the market had shifted slightly in favor of institutions in other categories.

Taken by themselves, these changes may seem trivial. After all, the *high-stable* institutions lost only 1.47% of the total job market during the interval covered by our data. But the *high-stable* institutions lost 13.31% of their own share of the market, and we believe that the relative gain or loss in market share is an important indicator of shifting control of the employment market for teachers.

In the case of black teachers, all the predominantly white institutions showed gains, especially the *high-stable* institutions (150%) and the *low-stable* institutions (210.3%). Meanwhile, the black institutions showed a decrease of 18.71%

in their own share of the new-teacher market.

Certainly the numbers in some of these categories are too small to allow us to draw defensible generalizations. But, looked at holistically, they provide enough evidence for some justifiable conclusions.

First, black institutions are losing market shares of black teachers both in absolute and relative terms, and they are not making up for these losses by increasing their market share of white teachers. Moreover, there have also been some shifts in the market share of white teachers. In particular, *high-declining* and *moderate-declining* institutions have substantially improved their market shares, while *high-stable* and *low-stable* institutions have lost. In terms of absolute numbers, these data may not seem particularly significant, but the primary factor that accounts for the improved market shares of both *high-declining* and *moderate-declining* institutions is a substantial increase in the numbers of low-scoring teachers that they graduate. The *high-stable* and *low-stable* institutions, on the other hand, have shown substantial decreases in the numbers of low-scoring teachers that they graduate. These data clearly support the assertion that *high-declining* and *moderate-declining* institutions are maintaining, and even increasing, their share of the new-teacher market by increasing the numbers of low-scoring white teachers they produce. Coupled with the general increase among all white institutions in the numbers of black teachers graduated, the data become even more significant.

What's Going on Here?

Without further research and qualitative assessments, including interviews with officials and reviews of institutional policy, we can do no more than speculate on the meaning of these data. However, we feel obliged to offer some informed guesses that other researchers may use as hypotheses to guide their studies. We think these guesses are consistent with the data we have presented and are logically and theoretically sound.

First, we think these data offer substantial support for the idea that competition for scarce resources (i.e., students) both among departments within institutions and among institutions themselves is having an impact on the quality and quantity of teachers being produced by various institutions. For example, the *high-stable* institutions showed the greatest decline in the number of teachers placed in jobs. Meanwhile, the *low-stable* institutions (by far the largest producers of teachers) showed a large decline in the number of teachers produced. We suggest that *high-stable* institutions are most likely to suffer

enrollment declines due to individual choices by high-scoring students and that *low-stable* institutions cannot increase the number of low-scoring teachers they produce, precisely because they have always admitted nearly all of those students who apply. It also seems likely that *moderate-declining* and *high-declining* institutions are able to attract some low-scoring students away from *low-stable* institu-

tions, at least partly on the strength of their better reputations. The overall shift of black students to white institutions lends additional support to this thesis, because many of the predominantly white institutions in the *high-declining* and *moderate-declining* categories maintain better reputations — deserved or not — than the historically black institutions. Thus interactions among economic fac-

tors, individual choices, the pecking order of the academic marketplace, pressures to maintain enrollment, and policy initiatives account for some of the patterns in our data.

A second, less compelling explanation for these patterns is that high-ability teacher education graduates from the more elite institutions (i.e., *high-stable*, *high-declining*, and *moderate-declining*)

**Table 3. Percent Change in Market Share for White Teachers,
By NTE Rank and Institution Type**

Type of Institution		Rank					Total
		1 Lowest	2	3	4	5 Highest	
High-stable	1973/1974 % market	2.73	3.89	6.89	11.99	27.67	11.04
	1979/1980 % market	1.03	3.56	7.35	14.19	25.88	9.57
	% change	-62.27	-8.48	+6.68	+18.35	-6.47	-13.31
High-declining	1973/1974 % market	2.90	7.86	12.25	17.68	20.06	12.45
	1979/1980 % market	7.2	11.78	14.99	17.44	19.75	13.85
	% change	+148.28	+49.87	+22.37	-1.3	-1.55	+11.24
Moderate-stable	1973/1974 % market	.77	2.14	2.48	3.04	2.71	2.26
	1979/1980 % market	1.87	2.44	2.35	4.12	3.75	2.77
	% change	+131.17	+14.02	-5.24	+35.53	+38.38	+22.57
Moderate-declining	1973/1974 % market	19.75	23.09	26.26	25.8	20.64	23.04
	1979/1980 % market	24.21	27.84	27.52	20.91	19.88	24.3
	% change	+25.77	+20.57	+4.8	-18.95	-3.68	+5.38
Low-stable	1973/1974 % market	71.64	61.19	50.92	39.98	27.6	49.51
	1979/1980 % market	63.46	52.54	45.64	41.06	27.88	47.25
	% change	-11.42	-14.02	-10.36	+7.9	-.78	-4.56
Low-improving	1973/1974 % market	1.36	1.11	.64	.91	.58	.91
	1979/1980 % market	.94	1.22	1.27	1.73	1.63	1.33
	% change	-30.88	+9.91	+98.44	+90.11	+176.71	+46.15
Black colleges	1973/1974 % market	1.36	.71	.56	.61	.73	.79
	1979/1980 % market	1.3	.61	.88	.54	1.25	.91
	% change	-4.41	-14.08	+57.14	+11.48	+72.6	+13.92
Total	1973/1974 % market	18.43	19.79	19.62	20.7	21.45	100
	1979/1980 % market	22.3	20.51	21.28	19.24	16.67	100
	% change	+21	+3.64	+8.46	-7.05	-22.28	100

are less likely to enter teaching than are high-quality students who graduate from non-elite institutions. Simultaneously, schools that employ teachers may give preference to graduates from more elite institutions regardless of measures of academic ability (the "name brand" effect). Thus high-scoring teacher education graduates from elite institutions might refuse to take teaching positions, and public

school employers, preferring to hire teachers from the more elite institutions, would have to hire the lower-scoring graduates of these institutions. Such an interpretation is consistent with data presented here, but our other research casts doubt on this explanation.⁹

Implications for Policy

Our research has convinced us that the

quality of the teaching force will not be improved merely by raising entrance or exit standards in teacher education.¹⁰ Policy makers must also attend to the conditions of the workplace and to the competitive position of teaching in the larger occupational structure. Institutions of higher education that raise or maintain already-high academic standards in the present occupational marketplace will

Table 4. Percent Change in Market Share for Black Teachers, By NTE Rank and Institution Type

Type of Institution		Rank					Total
		1 Lowest	2	3	4	5 Highest	
High-stable	1973/1974 % market	.69	0	0	1.06	4.02	1.18
	1979/1980 % market	0	2.03	.59	1.17	12.16	2.95
	% change	-100	--	--	+10.37	+202.49	+150
High-declining	1973/1974 % market	0	1.16	.59	3.17	8.05	2.71
	1979/1980 % market	1.74	3.37	2.84	5.29	17.57	5.9
	% change	--	+190.52	+381.36	+66.88	+118.26	+117.71
Moderate-stable	1973/1974 % market	0	0	0	0	.58	.12
	1979/1980 % market	0	0	0	.59	0	.13
	% change	0	0	0	--	-100	+8.33
Moderate-declining	1973/1974 % market	2.08	1.16	1.78	3.17	14.36	4.6
	1979/1980 % market	4.07	6.08	6.81	10.58	9.46	7.37
	% change	+95.67	+424.14	+282.58	+233.75	-34.12	+60.21
Low-stable	1973/1974 % market	4.86	4.07	2.96	6.35	6.32	4.95
	1979/1980 % market	12.2	12.16	15.34	24.12	12.16	15.36
	% change	+151.03	+198.77	+418.24	+279.84	+92.41	+210.3
Low-improving	1973/1974 % market	0	0	0	0	0	0
	1979/1980 % market	0	0	.12	.12	.12	.37
	% change	0	0	--	--	--	--
Black colleges	1973/1974 % market	92.36	93.6	94.67	86.24	66.67	86.44
	1979/1980 % market	81.98	76.35	73.86	68.82	47.97	70.27
	% change	-11.24	-18.43	-21.98	-20.2	-28.04	-18.71
Total	1973/1974 % market	16.98	20.28	19.93	22.29	20.51	100
	1979/1980 % market	21.13	18.18	21.62	20.88	18.18	100
	% change	+24.44	-10.74	+8.48	-6.33	-11.36	100

simply produce proportionately fewer teachers.

Such a policy will clearly place the most selective programs in jeopardy. But it will also jeopardize the least selective programs, because students who once enrolled in these programs will find that some declining institutions with residual reputations for quality are now willing to admit them. Thus those institutions that are willing to admit less-able students but have not always done so will enhance their shares of the teacher job market.

The data in this study provide strong evidence in favor of radical reform in the structure of the teaching occupation. Indeed, the major implication of this study is that the various commissions that have recommended upgrading of the occupational status of teachers must be heeded if we are to insure quality in the teacher workforce.

We would also like to suggest one additional short-term implication of our study. We believe that the current emphasis that state legislatures and various other policy-making bodies are placing on minimum standards only reinforces the patterns we have found. Teacher training institutions are clearly under pressure to maintain enrollment. If the only students they can attract are those who meet only minimum standards, they will perforce admit as many of these students as they need. If the only students they can graduate are those who barely meet the standards, then those students will be graduated. If only teachers who barely meet minimum standards are available for school systems to hire, then these are the teachers the school systems will hire. We believe that those institutions of higher education that are unwilling or unable to compete in this nonselective market will be forced to disband their teacher education programs.

One possible solution to the problems posed by this nonselective marketplace is the creation of incentives to encourage institutions of higher education to compete for and recruit high-ability students for their teacher education programs. Perhaps policy makers should shift their attention from establishing minimum requirements to establishing target distributions around the median of some widely used test score. For example, policy makers could insist that no more than 50% of any entering class in any teacher education program could score below the median for college-bound seniors on the Scholastic Aptitude Test (SAT) or some similar measure. Thus the size of the entering group would be controlled by the number of high-scoring students that institutions could attract. Similarly, policy makers might insist that the long-term failure of an institution to produce more than 50% of its graduates who score above the median on some exit test, such as the NTE, would cost a school its accreditation. At the same time, state education agencies might insist that school systems employ a teacher force that includes no fewer than 50% of those who score above some specified point on some measure of academic ability.

These recommendations will undoubtedly strike some readers as ill-informed. We are well aware that no convincing evidence links measures of academic ability to teaching effectiveness. Some people who score very low on measures of academic ability may become great teachers, and others who score well on such measures may prove to be totally incompetent. However, we believe that occupations that are primarily oriented toward academic pursuits should not implicitly give preference to those who show the least aptitude for academic tasks. The average teacher should be able to score at least as well on

measures of academic ability as the average college-bound high school senior.

One of the strengths of proposals such as ours is that potentially good teachers who score substantially lower on tests than the average college-bound senior will not automatically be precluded from entering the profession. Under our proposal, measures of academic ability could be totally irrelevant for fully half of those who enter teacher education and, later, the teaching profession.

We do not argue for minimums. Like our critics, we accept the proposition that it is important for teachers to possess many qualities other than the ability to score well on standardized tests. However, we see no reason to adopt policies that favor those who do poorly on tests, as if that single criterion were the mark of potential to become an excellent teacher.



"I intend to be a writer someday, and you'll figure prominently in all my books!"

1. Samuel Peng, "Education Attracts Fewer High-Achieving Young Women," National Center for Education Statistics, *Bulletin*, December 1982; Alexander Astin, *The American Freshman: National Norms for Fall 1982* (Washington, D.C.: American Council on Education and University of California, Los Angeles, 1983); Phillip C. Schlechty and Victor S. Vance, "Do Academically Able Teachers Leave Education? The North Carolina Case," *Phi Delta Kappan*, October 1981, pp. 106-12; Victor S. Vance and Phillip C. Schlechty, "The Structure of the Teaching Occupation and the Characteristics of Teachers: A Sociological Interpretation," paper prepared for the National Institute of Education, contract NIE-P-81-0100, 1982; and Victor S. Vance and Phillip C. Schlechty, "The Distribution of Academic Ability in the Teaching Force: Policy Implications," *Phi Delta Kappan*, September 1982, pp. 22-27.
2. B. Othanel Smith, "Some Comments on Educational Research in the Twentieth Century," *Elementary School Journal*, March 1983, pp. 488-92; W. Timothy Weaver, "The Need for New Talent in Teaching," *Phi Delta Kappan*, September 1979, pp. 29-32, 46; and Phillip C. Schlechty and Victor S. Vance, "The Promotion of Quality in Teaching," *Fourth Annual American Educational Finance Association Yearbook* (Cambridge, Mass.: Ballinger, forthcoming).
3. Schlechty and Vance, "Do Academically Able Teachers Leave Education? . . ."; Vance and Schlechty, "The Distribution of Academic Ability . . ."; and Weaver, "The Need for New Talent . . ."
4. Because status rankings among institutions of higher education are such a politically volatile subject, we have not provided precise numbers for the less-prestigious categories. We have also avoided specific examples. Our point is that North Carolina includes at least one (and often more) of almost every type of institution of higher education.
5. Schlechty and Vance, "Do Academically Able Teachers Leave Education? . . ."
6. *Ibid.*
7. Weaver, "The Need for New Talent . . ."; and Vance and Schlechty, "The Distribution of Academic Ability . . ."
8. Laura M. Sharp and Sarina B. Hirshfield, *Who Are the New Teachers? A Look at the 1971 College Graduates* (Washington, D.C.: Bureau of Social Science Research, 1975).
9. Vance and Schlechty, "The Distribution of Academic Ability . . ."
10. Schlechty and Vance, "Do Academically Able Teachers Leave Education? . . ."; Vance and Schlechty, "The Structure of the Teaching Occupation . . ."; and Schlechty and Vance, "The Promotion of Quality in Teaching."